

HYPNOTISM
AND THE
DOCTORS.

(II.)

From MESMER

to CHARCOT.

BY

RICHARD HARTE.



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THE SECOND COMMISSION.

DUPOTET AND LAFONTAINE.

THE ENGLISH SCHOOL.

BRAID'S HYPNOTISM.

STATUVOLISM.

PATHETISM.

ELECTRO-BIOLOGY.

By RICHARD HARTE.

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PREFACE.

In this volume I sketch briefly the history of Hypnotism from the time of Mesmer to the rise of Modern Hypnotism, a survey which includes not only the vicissitudes of Animal Magnetism during that period, but also the consideration of four other systems of Psycho-physics, namely, Braidism (or the Hypnotism of Braid) Statuvolism, Pathetism, and Electrical Psychology (better known as Electro-biology).

These systems differ both from Animal Magnetism and from Modern Hypnotism, as well as from each other, although all are nearly allied ; and unless they are taken into consideration, the Hypnotism of our day seems little more than a jumble of conflicting theories and a chaos of unexplained phenomena. Even when taken into account, these various systems do not complete the data for a comprehensive theory of Psycho-physics ; but at all events they make it clear that the problem to be solved is very imperfectly conceived by our hypnotists, who have overlooked some of the most important and interesting questions involved in the subject they undertake to explain.

My object is to excite sufficient interest in the larger Hypnotism to induce my readers to study not only the systems of Braid, Fahnestock, Sunderland, and Dods, but also the writings of the Mesmerisers—Gregory, Townshend, Sandby, Colquhoun, Ashburner, Lee, Wilson, Middleton, Leger, Dupotet, Lafontaine, Gauthier, Teste,

and other well known writers, each of whom presents his own particular views, and details his own particular experiences, and all of whom are well worthy of study. Without a certain knowledge of these authors, the student of Modern Hypnotism will find himself as much at sea when he reads current treatises on Hypnotism as the writers of those treatises appear themselves to be with regard to the *rationale* of the processes they describe.

Modern Hypnotists are like people who have landed upon an unknown shore without map or compass. They have, as it were, met with great rivers, and they think that they can learn about their rise and outflow by analysing their waters, and cataloguing the fish they find in them. They find themselves hemmed in by mountains, and they regard those mountains as natural barriers, beyond which lies the empire of fraud and delusion, peopled by dreadful monsters of the imagination. I want to help them to take a bird's eye view, if not of the whole great continent on which they have landed, at least of the part of it into which the explorer is likely to venture, so that they may learn where their rivers rise and end, and know what lies beyond the mountains that now form their horizon. There are many clever men at present engaged in the exploration of Hypnotism, who have already extracted from their limited ground much that is of practical utility, but I am convinced that until they know what lies beyond the limits within which they now confine their investigations, they will be empiricists, whose theories only serve to blindfold them, and who wander round in a circle, mistaking each other for enemies when they meet.

I need hardly say that I fully recognise the practical value of much of the work which our Hypnotists have done in some special directions, but I think that their labours would bear more and better fruit were they to lay aside their prejudices, and make themselves acquainted with what others have done in much the same field before Modern Hypnotism was born.

RICHARD HARTE.

LONDON,

January, 1903.

HYPNOTISM, FROM MESMER TO CHARCOT.

The “Second Commission,” and what led to its Appointment.

In this volume, I trace the fortunes of Hypnotism from the time of Mesmer, when it was known as Animal Magnetism or Mesmerism, to the advent of Modern or Suggestive Hypnotism, the form of Psychophysics known technically as “Hypnotism” now. When Mesmer died, Hypnotism was under a cloud. It was slowly recovering from the blow it had received through the unfavourable Report of the Royal Commission of 1784, when, unfortunately for it, the French Revolution broke up its incipient organisation by destroying the numerous “Sociétés d’Harmonie” that were beginning to propagate Hypnotism successfully throughout France, and by killing off a large number of its partisans, and scattering many of the others. When Hypnotism recovered from these shocks, and began to re-form and re-organise itself, it was found that its friends and partisans were divided into two distinct and almost antagonistic parties. One of these parties, located chiefly in Germany, accepted Mesmer’s original theory of a universal medium or “fluid,” the free and regular circulation of which through a human being produced health, while any obstruction, or impediment to that free circulation, caused disease; and this party naturally adopted the practices or methods of

Mesmer's School, namely, the touchings, pressures and pointings, and the *baquets*, and chains, usually associated with the name of Mesmer. The other party, located chiefly in France, accepted the theory of the Puységurean or Experimental School, that sickness arises from want of an adequate supply of the vital magnetism which is degenerated by the organism itself, and which one person can impart to another, or aid him in extracting from the circumambient ether; corresponding to which theory there was a different set of processes, namely, the fixation of the eye and breathings, which had developed out of De Puységur's discoveries, first of lucid Somnambulism, and then of the "passes" as a method of operating without actual contact between operator and subject.

At the end of the first quarter of the last century, Animal Magnetism was in a condition which might be called "dead and alive;" not because it was half dead, or dying, but because it was declared and believed to be dead by Academies of Science, Societies of Medicine, and other learned bodies, and treated as non-existent by the great majority of doctors, and because at the same time it showed itself to be very much alive by reason of the steady spread of its doctrines by enthusiasts, both lay and medical, who made up for deficiency in number by earnestness and courage. In Germany, Austria, Russia, and some other countries, the doctrines of Mesmer had been accepted almost officially, if not by the Faculty, at least by the Governments, for these had made laws restricting the practice of Animal Magnetism to medical men, and

in some instances had made a knowledge of Magnetism an item in the education of the doctor. In France, the ideas and manipulations of De Puységur had supplanted those of Mesmer to a very large extent, and several hundreds of local centres of magnetic practice and propaganda had been established all through the French Provinces on these lines, most of which were conducted by medical men, although there was no law in France limiting the practice of Animal Magnetism to the doctors. The consequence of this departure of the magnetisers along diverging roads was an estrangement between the Mesmerian and the Puységurian magnetisers, which was weakening to the movement as a whole.

In the countries which followed Mesmer, his theory of disease, and cure by his methods, became the sole consideration, and this made Animal Magnetism a medical question, with which the public had apparently no greater moral right to interfere than they had legal right; and as the large majority of the doctors were deeply prejudiced against Magnetism, and steadily refused to have anything to say to it, or even to hear about it, Animal Magnetism declined more and more as its older and more enthusiastic supporters and practitioners died off. In France, on the contrary, the independence of the new or Puységurian School of Magnetism, from technical theories of disease, the extraordinary phenomena which the "passes" and other new methods of inducing the magnetic condition produced, and the absence of any law restricting the practice of Magnetism to medical men, who as a rule did not believe in it, and were opposed to its use, had the effect

of creating a popular interest in Magnetism; and this popular interest, after a time, forced the Faculty to open its eyes to the subject, with the result (as I have shown in a previous volume) that the doctors set about to prove that the "higher" phenomena of Magnetism were fraudulent, by the application of torture to make the supposed deceiver break down and confess.

The result of the cruel testing of sleeping patients, however, was to convince a large number of medical men of the genuineness of the phenomena. A great many of the strongest advocates and ablest practitioners of the new method of treating disease (for such Animal Magnetism was regarded) were at first its determined opponents; and painful reading as are the accounts of the tortures inflicted on the unfortunate sensitives to satisfy sceptical doctors, that martyrdom bore fruit in the shape of a continually growing number of converts; and among the believers in the reality of Animal Magnetism were men of world-wide reputation, such as Cuvier, La Place, A. von Humbolt, Lavater, Gall, and a host of lesser lights; and in England such men as Coleridge and Dugald Stewart. After all, the brutality of these tests—tests which tended first of all to awaken curiosity, and then to produce conviction—evinced a higher level of intelligence than the obstinate incredulity, silly ridicule, and ignorant slanders and abuse on which later generations of medical men have so often been content to rest their denials.

There can be no doubt that the magnetisers in the early part of the 19th century called upon

the world to believe in the occurrence of a number of phenomena, which to the educated but superficial materialists of that time must have appeared to be nothing short of impossibilities. But it must be remembered that the belief that they asked for was the intellectual belief that follows demonstration, not the emotional belief that follows assertion. If I ask you to believe that the square root of 4356 is 66, you will probably make the calculation for yourself before you feel convinced, for you know that, however honest I may be, I may have made a mistake; but if I ask you to believe that Joshua made the sun to stand still, you must believe me, if you do so at all, simply because you are so good as to take my word for it as your teacher. Now the belief which the magnetisers asked for was of the former kind, which cannot even exist without proof. Indeed they did not, properly speaking, ask the incredulous to believe, but to investigate, knowing very well that the belief they wished for would follow honest investigation, as certainly as that it could not exist without proof. The "faith" or "belief," the necessity for which the magnetisers proclaimed, did not refer to sceptics, nor even to their subjects, but to those who were already convinced intellectually, or were at least willing to be convinced, for the faith needed was the *confidence of the Magnetiser in his own power*, which enabled him to put away all emotional doubt about being able to exercise that power, of the possession of which he had already been convinced, or was prepared to become convinced if it were proved by him experimentally to be a reality. The points which the magnetisers at

that time undertook to prove are thus stated by Baron Dupotet, who himself did so much to demonstrate them, and which he regarded as then "incontrovertibly established." It will be remarked that these different "points," which the magnetisers undertook to prove, and the doctors to disprove, have little to say to the cure of disease, the one object of the school of Mesmer; for at this time the side issue of the "higher" phenomena had taken the place of the curative effects, which the doctors refused to examine, precisely as they refuse to examine them at this day.

" 1st. While the organs of the senses are in a state of complete insensibility, unexcitable by any external stimuli, they (the somnambules) mentally take cognisance of the conditions and relations of surrounding objects through some other channel than the organs through which such impressions are generally conveyed.

" 2nd. There is in many cases an obvious vicarious transference of the senses from their appropriate organs to other parts of the nervous system, as to the tips of the fingers, epigastrium, and other parts of the body.

" 3rd. The lucidity of their vision penetrates through intervening opaque objects, and even takes cognisance of events passing at a distance.

" 4th. They possess the faculty of self-intuition, that is to say, a clear insight into the normal or abnormal condition of their own organisation, and they perceive and describe with exactness the internal condition also of those with whom they may be in *rapport*.

" 5th. They appear endowed with a knowledge beyond that which they ordinarily possess, and prescribe for themselves, as well as for those with whom they are in *rapport*, remedies for such complaints as they may be afflicted with; and these are generally found successful.

" 6th. Their lucid vision often extends beyond the present existence, and they foretell, with circumstantial minuteness, events which will happen in connection with their own organisation; even the day and hour—the very moment—when such predictions will be verified is accurately specified.

“7th. On recovering from their somnambulism, they remember nothing which occurred during the magnetic state; but when again thrown into somnambulism, the memory between the two magnetic states is continuous.”

As soon as it was found that the theories of the magnetisers were not exactly new, and that the phenomena were certainly not all simulation and fraud, those phenomena were, in turn, declared by the opponents of Magnetism to be quite old and stale, and to have occurred in every age, having been attributed either to God or to Satan, as the case might be; moreover, the Royal Commissioners of 1784 had for ever settled the question of their source by authoritatively declaring them to be due to imagination, and, therefore, imaginary, unreal, and unworthy of serious consideration. This assertion that the phenomena were not new, of course, cut both ways, just as did the contention that Mesmer's theories were not original; so both sides set to work to unearth accounts of insensibility to pain, prevision, clairvoyance, thought reading, trance, and so on, occurring spontaneously in former times, and attributed to a supernatural source—the enemies of Magnetism arguing that such products of the imagination were of no greater significance or importance now than in bygone ages; and the friends of Mesmer maintaining that the fact that *they* produced at will the very same extraordinary bodily and mental states which were acknowledged to occur spontaneously, was proof positive of the genuineness of those phenomena, and of the importance of their science.

To estimate the value of the evidence afforded by spontaneously occurring phenomena, one should know all about the artificially induced phenomena which they

resemble ; but to describe and compare them would be an endless task, and everyone has a general idea of the mesmeric phenomena, whether he believes in their actuality or not. Those phenomena, although briefly describable in general terms, vary immensely in detail ; and their description is scattered through hundreds of forgotten treatises, pamphlets, journals, memoirs, and reports. The phenomena in question vary extremely even in the same subject, from one occasion to another ; and there is hardly an item, either of theory or practice, about which differences of opinion did not exist among the mesmerisers themselves. For example, Dr. Elliotson, who may be regarded as one of the latest of the “early fathers” of Magnetism, never consciously exerted any will power, and attributed all the effects to the manipulations. Again, Dr. Bertrand wrote a valuable book on Somnambulism (in 1828), and yet he looked upon Animal Magnetism (the “fluid”) as a “chimera.” Some magnetisers regarded Cerebro- or Phreno-magnetism as a discovery due to Mesmerism which was fraught with more benefit to humanity than even the cure of disease ; while others considered it a complete delusion. Some writers give emphatic warnings about the dangers of Magnetism ; others declare that it never does any harm. Some say that the strong and healthy are the best subjects, others the weak and diseased. Some declare that almost everyone can be mesmerised, others that only a comparatively small proportion are susceptible, differences of opinion which are curiously paralleled by our present hypnotisers.

We find among the old writers on Magnetism the same tendency that our modern hypnotists evince, to

generalise from insufficient data ; and also to make their own respective experiences the limit of possibility. The Experimentalist operators, or followers of De Puységur, differed considerably among themselves in regard to the proportions in which, when inducing the magnetic state, they combined the pressings, touchings, strokings, and benevolent intentions of the earlier school, with the passes, fixation of the eyes, and conscious exertion of the will, of the later ; and the effects produced differed correspondingly. Some magnetisers, for instance, never, or hardly ever, developed clairvoyance in their subjects ; while others met with it frequently. Some were extremely successful in inducing anæsthesia and analgesia ; others found it almost impossible to obtain complete unconsciousness, or insensibility to pain. These differences were, no doubt, in great part owing to differences of method for inducing the magnetic condition, although the idiosyncrasies both of the operator and of the subject in all cases counted for much. On one point, however, all magnetisers agree : They prescribe complete silence during the process of inducing the magnetic condition ; and this differentiates them very decidedly from the modern Suggestionist school.

Mesmer required his patients to be silently attentive to their own sensations, for then the internal energy which the Royal Commissioners called “imagination” intensified those sensations, and conduced to a crisis ; and although the patients at the *baquet* did not maintain silence, it was about their own and each other’s symptoms and feelings that they conversed, and this helped on the crisis by promoting the mysterious influence which the Commissioners called “imitation.”

The Experimental school enjoined silence, and told their patients *not* to examine their own sensations, but to “think of nothing,” because it was found that any disturbance, bodily or mental, caused an arrest of the magnetising process at the “intermediate” stage; and they regarded that arrest as a misfortune, because the subject then became a mere echo of the operator, a mere automaton in his hands; and this not only prevented the development of introvision and “medical instinct,” on which the magnetic physician placed great reliance for diagnosis and prescription, but it made the production of the deep sleep and cataleptic rigidity more difficult; and on these, instead of on the crises, the magnetisers of the Experimentalist school depended greatly for the general health-giving effect of Magnetism, as distinguished from the curative action of local passes, breathings, and other manipulations. It must be remembered that the old magnetisers were unacquainted with the *compelling* power and curative effect of suggestion; and that, although they were perfectly aware of the influence of suggestions, they did not know their great importance and psychological interest, but regarded the “suggestible” condition as an imperfect magnetic state. Suggestion, in fact, is a separate branch of Psycho-physics, which they avoided and ignored instead of studying it, because they considered it as a *disturbing influence*, which interfered with the development of the magnetic state, and with the action of the Magnetism; although they undoubtedly employed suggestion continually in some form, without exactly being aware of it. Another reason why they avoided the modern “hypnotic” state was that, next to the empirical use of Animal Magnetism in the

cure of disease, their object was to study the magnetic condition itself, about the nature and possibilities of which they felt themselves still very much in the dark ; and the advent of the suggestible state made this study impossible.*

The search in old records for spontaneously occurring phenomena similar to those artificially produced by the magnetisers, brought to light, as I have said, a great number of instances of every kind of phenomenon that occurred in Magnetism. Medical writers of all ages have described cases of spontaneous somnambulism, some of them presenting all the extraordinary characteristics of the induced. Perfectly authenticated instances were found of complete insensibility to pain, vision in perfect darkness, seeing through opaque bodies or at a distance, transfer of one or more faculties to the pit of the stomach or tips of the fingers, understanding, or even speaking languages never learned, "thought-reading," visits in spirit to the abodes of the blessed, extraordinary

* The effect of magnetism without interference by suggestions is illustrated by a case quoted by Teste :—“ By continuing to magnetise, we determine a series of phenomena, of which the last only are the manifestation of complete somnambulism. The young patient, for instance, whose case has been given by Mons. Despine in the *Bulletin of d'Air* (Estelle), first saw particles of fire scintillate before her face. After eight minutes she experienced a feeling of chewing in her mouth ; in ten minutes slight subsaltus of her arms and legs ; in fifteen minutes she distinguished with her eyes shut the hands of her magnetiser ; in thirty-five minutes she divined the thoughts of the persons present at the sitting, and expressed them aloud. A little after, it was a fantastic vision that frightened her. In some minutes after luminous tufts seemed to her to shine at the extremities of all the fingers of her magnetiser. At length another vision came on, which filled her with joy and hope. It was a heavenly figure, which became her tutelary divinity, her preserving genius, and which, like Socrates's genius, was to serve her as a guide, to enlighten her on the nature of her sufferings, to direct her mode of living each day, and to bring about her cure.”

physical strength and dexterity, and wonderful mental capacity, accompanied in almost every case by total loss of memory when awakened. The annals of religious bodies also furnished abundant examples of similar abnormal states, which, if not so satisfactorily described as those in medical publications, were quite as confirmatory of the facts; and in many of these cases the confessor or exorcist was able to direct and control the phenomena precisely as the magnetiser does in the case of his subject. As to healing, accounts were discovered of a great number of persons who successfully used the laying on of hands, breathing and stroking, with the intention of curing, and with the belief in their power to do so, which, according to some magnetisers, contains the whole art of Magnetising. Most of these healers had only a local fame, being poor and illiterate, but some of them had national reputations, and the most frequently mentioned of them all is Greatrakes, who lived some two hundred and fifty years ago, and who happened to be a man of fortune, and to have been known in fashionable circles. He was undoubtedly a wonderful operator, but it is probable that had he been a poor cobbler or gardener, like some of those healers, his fame would not have gone beyond his own neighbourhood. Greatrakes is a valuable instance in point, not only because he was a powerful healer, but because his cures were so well authenticated.*

* The magnetisers claimed that enthusiasts like Greatrakes and Gassner operated through desire to do good and perfect confidence, which was all that was needed to make them unconscious magnetisers, but the magnetisers regarded the sympathetic powder, the ointment for weapons, and cures by charms and incantations as pure folly. Suggestionists claim these latter cures, when well authenticated, as due to suggestion.

For instance, the Bishop of Derry of the day (Dr. George Rust) wrote of Greatrakes :—

“I was three weeks together with him at my Lord Conway’s, and saw him, I think, lay his hand upon a thousand persons; and really there is something in it more than ordinary; but I am convinced it is not miraculous. I have seen pains strangely fly before his hands, till he hath chased them out of the body; dimness cleared, and deafness cured by his touch; twenty persons, at several times, in fits of falling sickness, were in two or three minutes brought to themselves, so as to tell where their pain was; and then he hath pursued it until he hath drawn it out of some extreme part: running sores of the King’s Evil dried up, and kernels brought to a suppuration by his hand. Grievous sores of many months’ date, in a few days healed. Obstructions and stoppages removed; cancerous knots in the breast dissolved, &c.”

The chasing of the pains from one part of the body to another, and drawing them finally out of the body by the extremities, is frequently mentioned by the old magnetisers. When the pain left, the disease departed with it.* This is not only contrary to the common idea that pain is only a symptom of disease, but it is incompatible with the modern theory of bacilli, which makes out disease to be parasitic. What the clairvoyant ought to see shaken from the

* Greatrakes was asked, “why the pains should fly immediately out of some, and take so long to go in others: and why it should go out of some at the fingers, some at their toes, some at their noses, others at their ears or mouth?” To which he answered, “If all things could have a plain and rational account given of them, then there would be no reason to account them strange.”

Magnetisers recommended the operator to “draw away the pain from a vital part”; and if it be possible to do so, the “drawing-out” altogether of the pain does not seem so absurd an idea. It frequently happened to Deleuze to bring a pain in the shoulders down to the hands by passes, and then it became dissipated in a perspiration of the hands. In more recent times, Barth, who had this power well developed, says, “I have designedly brought a toothache to the elbow, and left it there for 24 hours before I chose to remove it altogether.”

Mesmer also could draw a pain from one part of the body to another by pointing his finger, and drawing it along.

fingers of the magnetiser, one would think, is not a shower of "bad magnetism," but of dead microbes !*

By this time, even the enemies of Magnetism were beginning to be ashamed of the report of the Royal Commissioners of 1784 ; and in 1825, Dr. Foissac proposed to the Academy of Medicine to examine into the whole subject again ; and a small Committee of the members was appointed to look into the matter generally, and to report whether another formal examination by the Academy was advisable. I quote here the report of this preliminary Committee, because it shows very well the generally recognised *status* of Hypnotism at that period :—

"1.—The decision formed in 1784 by the Commissioners charged by the King to examine Animal Magnetism, should not, by any means, sanction you in dispensing with examining it *de novo*, because in science no decision whatever is absolute and irrevocable.

"2.—Because the experiments on which this judgment was founded appear to have been conducted without the simultaneous and necessary assembling together of all the Commissioners, and also with moral dispositions which, according to the principles of the fact which they were appointed to examine, must cause their complete failure.

"3.—Magnetism, thus judged in 1784, differs entirely in theory, processes, and results from that which close, attentive, and strict observers, and which enlightened, indefatigable physicians have studied in later years.

"4.—It is to the honour of French medicine not to remain behind German physicians in the study of the phenomena, which

* A patient of Mr. Barth's saw the effluvium fall off on the carpet like mud when he made passes over her affected part, and then shook his hands. It spread out on the carpet, she said, and then disappeared ; she added that he took different looking "mud" out of different patients. Mr. A. P. Sinnett, in his little treatise on Mesmerism, says that the "elementals" come and eat up this "bad Magnetism." Mr. Sinnett is a Theosophist, and these "elementals" are, apparently, a kind of tame Theosophical devils, whose function is this scavenger work.

the enlightened and impartial advocates of Magnetism declare to be produced by this new agent.

“5.—In considering Magnetism as a secret remedy, it is the duty of the Academy to study it, to subject it to trial, finally, to take away the use and practice of it from persons quite strangers to the art, who abuse this means, and make it an object of lucre and speculation.

“After all these considerations, your Commission is of the opinion that the section should adopt the proposition of Monsieur Foissac, and appoint a special Commission to direct their attention to the study and examination of Animal Magnetism.”

(Signed by the five Commissioners.)

This was in October, 1825, and in the following May, after much hesitation and debate, the second Commission was appointed (that known as the Commission of the Academy of Medicine), consisting of eleven physicians, all men whose ability and good faith were above suspicion. Two of the eleven did not attend to their duties, and therefore did not sign the report, but the other nine signed it unanimously; and they seem to have investigated Animal Magnetism very conscientiously and thoroughly, for it was not until June, 1831, that they made their report, commonly known as “Husson’s Report,” Dr. Husson having been appointed “Reporter” of the Commission; and which report was translated into English by Colquhoun. That elaborate Report fully recognises the reality of the phenomena produced by the magnetisers; but even its thirty “conclusions” are too lengthy to be quoted here. Suffice it to say that the Commissioners left theory strictly alone, and confined themselves to the verification of facts, among which were magnetism at a distance, clairvoyance, prevision, introvision, &c.; and that the last of their thirty conclusions ran thus:—

“30.—The Commission has not been able to verify, for want of opportunity, other powers which magnetisers have declared to

exist in somnambulists ; but it has collected and communicated facts sufficiently important to induce it to think that the Academy should encourage the researches on Animal Magnetism, as a very curious branch of psychology and natural history."

After two days of violent discussion, the report of the Commissioners was accepted by the Academy of Medicine, on condition that it should not be printed, although manuscript copies were allowed to be taken, whereas twenty thousand copies of the unfavourable report of the Royal Commission of 1784 had been industriously circulated by the enemy. It might have been expected that so favourable a report as this later one would have created a "boom" in Animal Magnetism ; but, although it undoubtedly lifted a weight from the hearts of the friends of Magnetism, those friends had for years so industriously belittled the Royal Academy of Medicine—the same body which, they contemptuously declared, had prohibited the medicinal use of mercury, of Peruvian bark, and even of emetics—that they did not gain much now by boasting of its pronouncement in their favour. On the other hand, the enemies of Magnetism were spurred on by the Report to greater opposition. It takes some years for any important movement to grow into a practical issue ; and it was only by 1830 that the efforts of Mesmer and his disciples were bearing fruit. The decade from 1830 to 1840 was the flood tide of Magnetism on the Continent of Europe ; although in England Mesmerism (as it was generally called here) did not reach high watermark until the following decade ; for England lagged behind the rest of the world in Magnetism, as it now does in Hypnotism. Until the publication of

Colquhoun's "Isis Revelata," in 1833, Animal Magnetism was almost unknown here.

Two other Commissions are sometimes mentioned, but they are without importance. In 1837, a Dr. Berna applied to the Academy of Medicine to examine two clairvoyantes, and a committee was appointed for that purpose. As was to be expected, the clairvoyance of these women was quite a failure when tested by an utterly hostile Commission, and the Report was adverse. This Report was answered by both Dr. Berna and Dr. Husson, the Reporter of the Commission of 1831, and declared by them to be false and malicious. In the following year a Dr. Pigaire called on the Medical Faculty of Montpellier to examine the clairvoyance of his daughter, whom he thought able to win the Burdin "prize" of 3,000 francs for seeing what were the contents of a sealed box; but the result was nil, for the Committee of Investigation required conditions which Dr. Pigaire considered utterly unreasonable, and to be intended for insults to himself and to his daughter, and he withdrew his clairvoyant.

There are two ways of testing clairvoyance: One is to hide the object; the other is to blindfold the clairvoyant. By shutting up an object in a box, it is very effectually concealed from the somnambule who is to be tested, and she experiences no emotional disturbance; and this way is adopted by those who really wish to know the truth. The blindfolding of the clairvoyant, on the other hand, always excites the subject, and is certain to affect her clairvoyance disastrously; and that is the method always chosen by those who wish to prove that clairvoyance does

not exist. In the case of Dr. Pigaire's daughter, the Commissioners wanted to blindfold her elaborately, although she was required to see into a box. Sometimes the operation of blindfolding a clairvoyant was grotesque. First, pads of cotton wool were placed upon the eyes, and these were tightly bound round with a dark cloth, then the whole head was enveloped in a bag, and after that a sack was drawn down over the body. That anyone but a born idiot could expect clairvoyance to appear in those conditions is strange; still that kind of thing was, and still is, supposed by some people to be "scientific."

It is strange now, and somewhat pathetic, to read the triumphant prognostications of the speedy and universal acceptance of Animal Magnetism in which the writers of that epoch indulged. Some countries then made a practical course of Animal Magnetism obligatory before taking a medical degree; some foreign universities had established courses of lectures on the subject and offered prizes for essays on it; in many cities magnetic institutions had been founded; and in 1838 it was considered a moderate estimate to say that one-fourth of the doctors of Paris either devoted themselves to mesmeric practice or had recourse to it occasionally. "Doctor's clairvoyant" had by that time become a regular profession, and hardly a town in France but boasted its magnetic physician. There was more than one worm in this fair fruit, however. Several causes conspired to counteract the efforts of the magnetisers, and frustrate their hopes; but these causes also took time to grow and gather strength enough

to operate with effect ; insomuch that while Hypnotism was apparently becoming triumphant, the causes that led to its eclipse were maturing.

Why Animal Magnetism suffered Eclipse.

In the first place, there was lack of agreement among magnetisers with regard to what may be called the fundamental principle of magnetic healing ; for many magnetisers still thought that the *crisis* was the great curative agent, and that to abolish entirely the *baquet*, the chain, and the "touchings" which brought that crisis on was an immense mistake. Moreover, the new school, which relied on benevolent intention and the exertion of the will, was in many minor points divided in opinion, not only with regard to the proper method of magnetising, but also with reference to the effects which it was desirable to produce : for instance, some magnetisers said you should never allow your patient to remain in the deep sleep for more than half-an-hour ; others told you to let him sleep for a week, if he would. The very want of cohesion among magnetisers saved them from quarrelling over those points ; but their differences were a source of weakness, nevertheless, and seemed to justify the assertion of the enemy, that the magnetisers were themselves ignorant of the subject they professed to teach.

As a matter of fact, cures were brought about by the systems both of Mesmer and De Puységur, and every operator found his own method successful ; but this, which ought to have been an additional reason for listening to the claims of the magnetisers, only intensified the prejudice against them ; for it was not to reason, but to passion, that the enemy

appealed, and they spared no effort to stir up hatred against both Magnetism and magnetisers. The Commissioners of 1784 had sent to the King a secret and supplementary report, which said that the practice of Magnetism would be attended with danger to the public morals. This hint was taken by the adversaries, who greedily seized upon the admission of the magnetisers themselves, that Magnetism in the hands of wicked men might be used for bad purposes—like many other things, excellent in themselves; and they did not hesitate to shamefully exaggerate the supposed danger, even affirming that Magnetism acted, in great part, by stirring up the sexual instincts of the patients—an explanation of the curative process which is not only intrinsically ludicrous, but shows complete ignorance of the subject; for one of the most marked and characteristic features of the magnetic state is the total suspension, for the time being, of those very instincts.* The accusation of sexual immorality is

* When, in 1814, a Dr. Stieglitz contended that the magnetic phenomena were to be attributed to “diseased imagination and sexual passion,” the magnetisers considered that such an assertion showed so much ignorance of Animal Magnetism as to merit no answer. It is known to all magnetisers that very frequent operations induce in the subject what is technically called “magnetic attraction” towards the magnetiser. This, no doubt, gave rise to the libellous statements of Dr. Stieglitz and others; but magnetisers all speak of magnetic attraction as Dr. Elliotson did in the “Zoist.” He said:—

“Mesmeric attraction has nothing sexual in it: it is of the purest kind, simple friendship, and, indeed, exactly like the love of a young child for its mother; for it seems characterised by a feeling of safety when with the mesmeriser, and of fear of others.”

Elsewhere he wrote:—“It is most interesting to observe how beautifully refined the feelings become—how alive to intellectual impressions, how observant of truth, how sensible of politeness, and how great the delicacy and modesty of patients in the magnetic sleep.”

one of the easiest to bring, and one of the most difficult to disprove, as the early Christians found out to their cost; it is the accusation that is the very first to occur to minds of a low order, and it is accepted without proof by the ignorant and depraved, who judge of others by themselves; and, although no reputable opponent laid stress on it, that accusation undoubtedly had some effect in scaring the general public away from Magnetism.

Another slander put forth about Magnetism was that it was productive of insanity. It seems strange that this should have been believed, for it had been proved that one of the specific effects of Animal Magnetism was the cure of some forms of insanity and the alleviation of others; but the evil report was believed because in the hands of experimenting and sceptical doctors, ignorant of the subject, Magnetism was sometimes productive of grave accidents. It is well-known to magnetisers that an aggravation of the symptoms of a disease is frequently a first effect of Magnetism,* and the occurrence of

* All magnetisers agree in saying that epilepsy is peculiarly amenable to magnetism, yet this disease and hysteria are both liable to an apparent aggravation in the first instance, although even this is only an occasional occurrence. Dr. Elliotson, alluding to epilepsy, says in the "Zoist":—

"It occasionally happens at first that the process either excites a fit instead of the mesmeric state, or a fit which passes into the mesmeric state; or that the mesmeric state so favours the disposition to an attack that it is interrupted by one, and sometimes continues when the fit is over, sometimes is perfectly broken up by the fit. But if the process is repeated such a result ceases. When attacks occur from the mesmeric process or state, they decline after a time, and at length cease, if the course of mesmerism is persevered with. If a continuance of the passes during the fit clearly aggravates it, it may be proper to desist till it is over; but in general the fit yields the sooner to a steady continuance of the passes, or to passes down the

this aggravation is regarded by experts as a "crisis" prognostic of cure; but it occasionally happened that inexperienced persons who were experimenting were frightened by unexpected incidents of that kind, and allowed other people to interfere, the consequence being "cross-magnetism," resulting, perhaps, in a series of fits, perhaps in delirium, or in coma that lasted for hours, or even days. Of course, these unfortunate accidents were made the most of by the enemies of Magnetism (who themselves produced most of them); and it frequently happened that while the occurrence itself was trumpeted everywhere, its sequel was not reported at all; so that, although the sufferers invariably recovered after a short time, it was currently believed that they had become permanently insane, or were dead.

When anything from which much is expected disappoints the hopes of its friends, it is taken for granted by the world that its intrinsic demerits caused its failure; and it soon becomes a "chose jugée," and is dismissed to the limbo of forgotten things. For that reason it is important to understand the whole conjunction of adverse circumstances that led to the virtual suppression for the time being of the Mesmerisers; for it will then be perceived that, however excellent the magnetic treatment of disease may be, such a combination of causes could not but create an opposition to Animal Magnetism

chest and back with contact, transverse passes before and behind the trunk, or to what is often better, breathing very slowly and assiduously upon the eyes, nose, and mouth, or the bosom, and holding the patients hands in our own; and the mesmeric state may manifest itself in proportion as the fit is subdued."

which nothing short of a miracle would have enabled it to overcome.

Among the hindrances to the progress of Magnetism, Deleuze reckoned the exaggerations of the magnetisers, which caused the facts to be scouted without examination, as utterly impossible, and caused the name of Mesmer to be coupled with that of Cagliostro, whom the public in general looked on as a charlatan. Deleuze takes trouble to point out how different the behaviour of Mesmer was from that of the mystery-loving, pretentious Italian wonder-worker. Cagliostro posed as a unique personality, possessed of powers that were inexplicable and uncommunicable; Mesmer declared that other people possessed the same powers that he exercised; his great wish was to explain his system to those competent to pronounce on it, and to teach his procedures to those who were worthy and willing to learn them; and even their enemies gave the magnetisers credit for openness and fairness, acknowledging that their cry was always "Come and see; go and try." Nevertheless, Magnetism suffered from being mixed up with things with which it had no necessary connection, and saddled with their sins.

A conspicuous instance of this was the incorporating into Magnetism of the struggling "science," Phrenology, which was effected in England chiefly under the auspices of Drs. Elliotson and Engledue. Not only did the surprising claims made for Phrenomagnetism prejudice the public against Magnetism itself, but they were a cause of division among magnetisers, many of whom looked upon Phrenology as a pseudo-science. The chief reason for the

prejudice against Phrenology at that time was that it was regarded as "atheistic," a belief in it being thought by many people to lead infallibly to materialism. The phrenologists contended that men always act according to their own natural dispositions, and to their heredity and their environment, and this seemed to take away moral responsibility. Dr. Engledue, for example, in a paper read at a meeting of the Phrenological Association in July, 1843, said of McNaughton, a recently hanged murderer, "his actions, like the actions of all animated beings, were necessarily the result of his organic constitution and the circumstances surrounding him at a given period," a theory which the public regarded as an encouragement to crime, and a danger to society; and the fact that Drs. Elliotson and Engledue were known to be pronounced materialists, did not tend to weaken that idea. Not only did Phreno-magnetism create a side issue, to the detriment of Magnetism, but the alliance also injured Phrenology. Whether Gall himself was really a materialist or not, he sought to establish Phrenology upon a basis of pure observation, as completely independent of corroboration from adventitious sources such as Animal Magnetism, as it was free from bias through religious or metaphysical theory. During many years, with infinite labour, Gall collected thousands of instances of the simultaneous existence of an "organ" and a faculty, in excess, or in deficiency; and those correspondences of faculty and brain substance were the data on which he relied; but when Magnetism became decadent, Phrenology suffered with it, as the two things had become linked together in the public

mind; for the world had forgotten that, whatever his followers and successors may have done, Gall himself, the great anatomist of the brain, had used only the strictest scientific method in locating the faculties in its different parts. Of course, when Phreno-magnetism came gradually to be first doubted, and then disbelieved, by many magnetisers who had at first accepted it, Magnetism itself was thought by the public to have been in a great measure "disproved," and this, too, gave it a decided set-back.

Another matter with which Animal Magnetism became mixed up to its detriment was Reichenbach's "Odyle" or "Od force." The magnetisers thought that they had found a powerful ally in Reichenbach; but that very fact put the men of science against Reichenbach's theories, and they refused to verify his facts; or, rather, they made a burlesque pretence of trying to do so. For thirty years Baron Reichenbach, a man whose scientific reputation was world-wide, had experimented with sixty or seventy extreme sensitives; and yet nearly everybody thought he was justified in pooh-poohing Reichenbach's labours and ideas, because, forsooth, he himself did not meet with the same results during half-an-hour's trial with two or three people taken at random.*

* Reichenbach's theories have been recently reconsidered by some of the more advanced hypnotists, who believe that the existence of "od," whether as a property of matter, or an obscure force in Nature, is a perfectly admissible possibility. Still, Reichenbach's ideas, as a rule, receive as yet comparatively little attention, as they seem to involve no immediate practical result. Some of the phenomena which he describes can be accounted for by Suggestion, others certainly cannot—not even by "mental suggestion." For instance, he had a sensitive subject who distinguished differences in the sensations which different substances gave her, and he noticed that she always placed them in the same order in regard to intensity.

Another instance of this distraction from the main issue was furnished by Rutter's "Magnetiscope," a little instrument from which the most wonderful results were expected, and which was taken up warmly by Dr. Ashburner, Dr. Theodore Leger (the "Psycho-dunamist,") and some other magnetisers. This instrument was a development of the very old fortune-telling device of a ring suspended by a thread which is held in the hand, the ring answering questions by tapping on the side of a tumbler, inside of which it hangs. In Rutter's instrument, the pendant hangs from a fixed support, and any unconscious propulsion of it by the operator is thus prevented. Rutter devoted much time to experimenting with this little machine, a bob or plummet and card graduated with concentric circles replacing the ring and tumbler; and he drew up elaborate tables, showing the different movements of the suspended bob when the operator held different substances in one hand, and placed the other on the machine. Suffice it to say that the inventor thought that his Magnetiscope would solve most of the problems of chemistry, of electricity, and of our vital mechanism. But after a time it was found that the apparatus gave different results with different people; so it dropped out of sight and out of memory, although its curious behaviour was never satisfactorily explained.

Again ; Magnetism, in its struggle with the doctors, found itself in unsought alliance with other

He tried her with 600 different substances, and was surprised to find that she invariably arranged them in their electro-chemical order, the highly electrical ones at the top, the indifferent at the bottom, although she knew nothing of electro-chemistry.

novel systems of treating disease, in as much as those other systems were also fighting against the tyranny of Official Medicine. Foremost among these was Homœopathy, to be coupled with which in any way was no help to Magnetism. The magnetisers were trying to supplant the old mode of treatment by Magnetism, and the homœopaths were endeavouring to do the very same thing by means of Homœopathy ; and although Hahnemann himself is said to have had some belief in Magnetism, since it employed a means that seemed almost as little “material” as his “infinitesimal doses,” still the “globule” and the “pass” were rivals for public favour, and both of them aimed at universal sovereignty. It became a three-cornered duel, in fact, in which each of the adversaries attacked the other two. Homœopathy and Magnetism, however, expended very little ammunition on each other, and between them they gave orthodox Medicine so severe a shaking that it could no longer uphold its absolute authority, even by calling in the help of the law ; and a system of “go as you please” soon sprang up in the cure of disease, which has become to-day a veritable jubilee of patent medicines and curative fads of all kinds—some of the most noxious of these fads, be it said, being innovations by “regular” practitioners ; that the subcutaneous injection of opiates, for instance, has now become a social vice, is wholly due to the demoralising influence of the doctor.*

* Of course, I do not mean to assert that doctors, who, taken singly, are, as a rule, most excellent and worthy men, deliberately try to demoralise the public by the subcutaneous injection of opiates and intoxicants. If ignorance be a valid plea for forgiveness, we must think leniently of our doctors, for they certainly

But it was not the competition of these unorthodox systems that injured Magnetism, so much as the discredit into which it fell by being associated in the public mind with what was popularly regarded as charlatanism—a discredit which seemed to be justified in a measure, for the domain of Magnetism was invaded by quacks and pseudo-clairvoyants, neither the public nor the great majority of doctors being able to tell true Magnetism from false. Teste mentions a typical case of this kind to which he was called in. The patient, he says, had previously been treated “by one of those somnambulists who live privately on the credulity of fools, or of hopeless invalids, and who sometimes make us blush at being magnetisers;” “a more strange, complicated, and barbarous treatment could not be devised,” he thinks; and no wonder, for that treatment consisted of “live pigeons with their throats cut” applied to the feet; plasters all over the body, and “drugs, tisans, mixtures such as no apothecary ever made up.” This reads much more like the orthodox treatment of that day than like Animal Magnetism; but it was by such outrages on common-sense that Magnetism was often judged.

A prominent feature in Magnetism was the power which clairvoyants were asserted to possess of

know not what they do. They do not know the simple means by which the hypnotists of different schools prevent or minimise pain, and they are not accustomed to calculate the remoter after-effects of the drugs they administer; they see people suffering pain, and their emotion of pity blends with their feeling of professional ability and importance, and they sow the seeds of a terrible vice with quite a proud and happy feeling; leaving it to the hypnotist, or patent medicine man, to apply a remedy to the “opium habit,” “cocaine habit,” “alcohol habit,” and so on.

foreseeing the course of a disease in themselves ; and this power the older School attributed to instinct, which put the subject in *rappport* with Nature, while the later School thought it came from the opening of the inner powers of vision ; but all Schools agreed in declaring that the phenomenon was a wholly natural one. Their enemies, however, persisted in regarding this power as supernatural, and believed it to be evoked, either consciously or unconsciously, by the magnetiser ; and in either case this exercise of supernatural power they declared to be exceedingly wrong, whether the miraculous help came from God or from the Devil. We have seen in the previous volume of this series how Father Gassner settled the question to his own satisfaction, by handing over to the doctors the diseases which he did not recognise as the work of the Devil ; his theory being that Nature inflicts some diseases which are curable by natural means, and that the balance must be put to the credit of the Devil. The old Pagan idea was that the gods sent diseases as a punishment, or token of their displeasure ; the Ancients had no official Devil, a professional opponent of the gods ; so they believed that the gods who inflicted the disease removed it again when they were placated. But when Christianity triumphed over Paganism, the Church pronounced the Heathen Gods to be Devils. It did not believe, nor does it even now unreservedly believe, that Jupiter, Mercury, Venus, or Diana have no real existence. Not only the Early Fathers, but all theologians down to late in the Middle Ages,

thought that those and other Pagan gods continued to have not only a real existence, but terrible powers over human beings who gave them a chance to get at them by straying from the orthodox fold. These old gods could still cure disease it was believed; and did so at the hands of those who became their servants; so the cures made in their names were cures wrought by the Devil, and it was taken for granted by the Church that all miraculous cures not due to God were the Devil's work; and the Church actually taught the extraordinary doctrine that God sometimes inflicts disease upon mankind and the Devil cures them! But hypnotic cures occurred in the Church as a natural result of faith in God's goodness, and it was necessary to recognise them as sometimes legitimate. There was, however, no mark in the cures themselves to distinguish the divine from the diabolic; so the religious profession of the operator was taken to be the criterion. The hypnotic cures operated by the clergy were declared to be performed by the help of God; the cures effected by a layman, especially by a heretic, were pronounced to be due to Satan. The methods of cure and of exorcism used by the Church are declared by Voetius in his "*De Exorcismo*" to have been the same as those of the Heathen, names only being changed. And just as the works of Christian writers are full of miraculous cures by saints, when alive and when dead, so also those of the Heathen authors abound in stories of cures effected by the use of charms and spells which were believed to have received their efficacy from the gods—cures such as those mentioned by Matthiolus and Fermilius;

snake bites rendered harmless by charms pronounced even without seeing the sufferer, and fevers cured by merely muttering certain words.

The consequence to the magnetisers of that way of regarding the action of unknown and invisible causes of disease was a very telling slander, but one which it is difficult for us now to take seriously, namely, that magnetic cures were accomplished by the aid of the Devil. To deny this was declared to be the same thing as asserting that they were done with the assistance of God; and that was affirmed to be equivalent to saying that Christ's miraculous healing was nothing but Animal Magnetism; which, of course, was looked on as rank blasphemy. Having presented the friends of Magnetism with this dilemma, their enemies proceeded to impale them on one of its horns by declaring that the magnetisers were condemned out of their own mouths, for they constantly quoted the doings of the sorcerers and the witches in corroboration of their own phenomena. And, besides, did not everybody know that "The Devil is an expert physician"? Did not St. Chrysostom tell us that "It were better for a man to remain sick all his days, yea, he had better die, than to go to the Devil for health"? Did not old Burton, in his "Anatomy of Melancholy," say that in his time many cures were done in every village by the sorcerers, "but it were better to die than to be so cured"? Did not Sennert, a physician of the sixteenth century, who accused Paracelsus of commerce with the Devil, tell his professional brethren that "It is better for them to acquiesce with resignation in

the death of their parents, than to save their lives by such impious means as the use of medicines recommended by Paracelsus " and the Devil?

The clergy could not well display less piety than the doctors; so they, too, raised the cry of "Satanic agency," and warned their flocks against Magnetism; although some Protestant clergymen were among its ardent advocates and defenders against this and other charges. The Rev. George Sandby, for instance, devotes a considerable portion of his excellent treatise on Mesmerism to proving that the cures operated by the magnetisers are *not* Satanic, and that the miraculous healing of Christ was *not* magnetic. It has always been a difficult thing for pious people to distinguish between the finger of God and the claw of the Devil in the causing or curing of disease; and the Church of Rome was circumspect enough to refuse to issue a general Anathema against Animal Magnetism. Applications were made to Rome by puzzled ecclesiastics in Belgium, Piedmont, and Switzerland, but it was not until 1843 that Cardinal Castracane declared officially to the Archbishop of Rheims that Rome would only pronounce on particular cases; which ruling did not conflict with the opinion it had already expressed that Animal Magnetism in itself, as a natural phenomenon, was harmless, so long as it was in no way mixed up with Satanic agency. The following is the general description of the facts that elicited the reply which Cardinal Castracane, on behalf of the Sacred Penitentiary at Rome, sent to the Bishop of Lausanne the year before (1842). It is curious as throwing light on the then current phenomena of Magnetism,

or at least the then current belief about them. I may say that Magnetism was not allowed in this particular case:—

“A person magnetised, who is generally a female, enters into such a state of sleep or drowsiness, called magnetic somnambulism, that neither the loudest noise made in her ears, nor the violence of iron or of fire, can draw her out of it. The magnetiser alone, who has obtained her consent (for her consent is necessary), makes her fall into this species of ecstasy, either by certain touches and gesticulations, made in various directions, if he is near her, or by a simple internal command, if he is distant from her, even several leagues away. Then being interrogated *viva voce*, or mentally, on her own disease, or on the diseases of other persons, who are absolutely unknown to her, this magnetised person, though ignorant of all, finds herself at the moment endowed with a knowledge far superior to that of the physicians: she gives anatomical descriptions of perfect exactness, points out the cause, seat, nature of the internal diseases of the human body, the most difficult to be known and to be characterised; she details their progress, their variations, and complications, the whole in appropriate terms; she often predicts their precise duration, and prescribes the simplest and most effectual remedies for them.

“If the person about whom the individual magnetised is consulted be present, the magnetiser brings them both into correspondence by contact. Is he absent, a lock of his hair is merely approximated to the hand of the magnetised individual, the latter tells what it is without looking at it, also to whom the hair belongs, where the person from whom the hair came is at the present moment, what he is doing; and with respect to his disease, she gives all the information above-mentioned, and that with as much accuracy as if a *post mortem* had been made. Lastly, the magnetised person does not see by her eyes. She may be blindfolded, and she will read anything whatever, even without knowing how to read a book or manuscript, which shall have been placed open or shut, either on her head or on her abdomen. It is from this region also that her words seem to come. Drawn out of this state by a command, even an internal one, of the magnetiser, or, as it were, spontaneously at the instant announced by her, she appears to be completely ignorant of everything that happened to her during the accession, however long it may have been; nothing of all that was asked her, of all that she answered, or that she suffered, has left an idea in her understanding, or the slightest trace in her memory.”

Among the causes that acted adversely to Magnetism was the discovery of chloroform. Until insensibility to pain was produced by Animal Magnetism, every surgical operation was the infliction of torture, often of the most excruciating kind. But now, instead of the patient being strapped down immovably, while the surgeon did the best he could upon the writhing, struggling, screaming form, the magnetised patient placidly slept, or calmly conversed with a bystander, while a limb was amputated, or a tumour cut out. A case of the absolutely painless removal of a cancerous breast was one of the facts certified to in the Report of 1831; and, year after year, the perfectly authenticated record of painless operations in the magnetic state grew larger. Of course these cases aroused the curiosity and interest of the public; and this greatly disturbed the doctors, who met the accounts by declaring that the patients had been bribed or trained by the magnetisers to pretend to feel nothing; and that even if the insensibility were true, it is wrong to bring it about, for pain is part of God's order, and, therefore, beneficial. An instance in point is thus mentioned by Dr. Kingsbury in his work on Hypnotic Suggestion:—

“ In November, 1842, a report was read to the Royal Medical and Chirurgical Society of London of an amputation of the thigh painlessly performed during hypnosis (mesmerism), by Mr. Squire Ward, of Wellow Hall. This paper was received with the greatest derision. . . Dr. Copeland moved that all mention of Mr. Ward's case be erased from the minutes, because ‘if the account of the man's experiencing no agony during the operation were true, the fact was unworthy of consideration, because pain is a wise provision of Nature, and patients ought to suffer pain while their surgeon is operating; they are all the better for it, and recover better.’ Among the others who were present and acquiesced in this folly were Sir Benjamin Brodie, Mr. Lister, Mr. Cæsar Hawkins, and Dr. Marshall Hall.”

The discovery of chloroform relieved the doctors from their embarrassment by putting into their hands a means of producing insensibility which could be used with everyone, and was speedy in its action ; whereas, the production of magnetic insensibility was tedious and uncertain, although in every other way better than that produced by chloroform. Chloroform is well-known to kill its hundreds every year, while no death was ever caused by magnetic insensibility ; but the public was told that in these fatal cases there was something wrong with the patient himself, whose fault, in a sense, it therefore was, and not the fault of the chloroform or of the doctors, that the accident occurred. We hear continually of the danger of magnetism, never a word about the danger of chloroform, the administration of which is well-known to add greatly to the risk of death during operations. We constantly read in the papers of a death under chloroform, followed by the verdict at the inquest, dictated by the doctor, of “died from failure of the heart’s action”—all deaths come from “failure of the heart’s action,” or else “from want of breath,” but neither coroner nor jury ever seem to see the doubtless unintentional medical joke.*

I need not dwell upon the opposition of the Faculty generally as a cause of the eclipse of Hypnotism in its mesmeric form, for that is known

* Chloroform superseded sulfuric ether as an anæsthetic, but sulfuric ether seems to have been quite as efficacious and much less dangerous. Dr. Esdaile, who was a very competent judge, found that the coma and catalepsy it produced are precisely like the mesmeric, but even deeper. Under ether he found that the pulse remains full and strong, the breathing natural, and the insensibility complete ; also that the patient is easily brought to by the application of cold water, and that no bad after-effects follow.

to everyone. However mistaken and unreasonable that opposition may seem to us, we must remember that in most instances it was perfectly conscientious; for the doctors really and truly thought that their own system was right, and that the magnetisers were a set of humbugs and frauds; or else were a pack of deluded fools. But while the doctors may claim to be held blameless, on conscientious grounds, for their opposition, they cannot be acquitted of the prejudice, ignorance, stupidity, and conceit which caused them to err conscientiously. And conscience, in their case, was ably backed up by fear of pecuniary loss, by *esprit de corps*, and by a secret or "sub-conscious" dread lest, peradventure, their much boasted knowledge should turn out, after all, to be worthless. We must remember, too, that, as is usually the case, the active opposition came from a few individuals, whose followers gave that opposition weight by their passive and dogged acquiescence; an acquiescence which, nevertheless, often became lukewarm, for, as the evidence in favour of Magnetism accumulated, a good many of the resisting doctors began to be secretly puzzled, and some of them even showed themselves individually disposed to adopt magnetic treatment in a small way as soon as ever they received a "mandate" to that effect from the public—very much as is the case now with regard to "Suggestive Therapeutics."

It looked at one time as if that mandate was forthcoming, in the shape of a growing belief in the efficacy of Magnetism on the part of the more intelligent part of the community, and even the Faculty itself seemed at one moment about to open its eyes.

Sandby remarks that in 1839 *The British and Foreign Medical Review* called Animal Magnetism “a great delusion,” to have anything to do with which “degraded” medical men. In 1845 the same journal, in reviewing Dr. Esdaile’s “Mesmerism in India,” allowed that there was “a reality in the simple phenomena of Mesmerism” — it could hardly do less, unless it wished to intimate that the Bombay Presidency Surgeon and the Governor General of India were monumental liars; and in 1846 that journal had so far altered its opinions on the subject as to say:—

“We conceive that the evidence attesting the fact of certain abnormal states being induced by Mesmerism, is now of such a character that it can no longer be philosophically disregarded by the members of our profession, but that they are bound to meet it. . . . Indeed we do not hesitate to assert that the testimony is now of so varied and extensive a kind, so strong, and in a certain proportion of cases so seemingly unexceptionable, as to authorize us, nay, in honesty, to compel us to recommend that an immediate and complete trial of the practice be made in surgical cases.”

The Medico-Chirurgical Review also, which had previously been noted for its ignorant abuse of Animal Magnetism, in reviewing Esdaile’s book, says (October, 1846):—

“Without agreeing with our author in the generally favourable estimate he gives of Mesmerism, we may state that we believe the cases we have alluded to are entitled to belief, and that the subject is one of such vast importance as to call for a searching investigation.”

Again, Sandby says:—

“It is a fact that a numerous portion of the junior members of the medical profession are alive to the truths of Mesmerism, and only biding their time till the ripened mind of the public gives them a signal for its more general adoption. It is a fact that very many individuals among the younger portion of the clergy are conscious of the medical value of the science, and are introducing its practice as one of their means of parochial usefulness.”

A short time previously (in 1842) Chenevix, in his work on Mesmerism, had declared that

“Mesmerism is established.” But the very success of Magnetism was fatal to it, for the magnetic physicians got more patients than they could attend to properly with advantage to themselves. They made a practice of treating every case individually, studying it almost as something *sui generis*; and it required from half-an-hour to one hour or more to give a treatment. Moreover, it often took weeks, or even months, for the benefit of Magnetism to show itself. This demanded immense faith and patience from both doctor and patient; and it seriously curtailed the practice, and therefore the income, of any doctor who devoted himself exclusively to magnetic treatment. To give one’s own vitality perseveringly to a patient for months, watching the effect of every “pass,” and constantly exerting the will, is a very different thing from the hasty recognition of well-known symptoms, and the scribbling off of an “indicated” prescription learned from some official list of remedies. While the magnetic physician was laboriously treating one patient, the “regular” doctor could attend to a dozen. Moreover, he could treat them with a much lighter heart; for when anything went wrong with his patient the medicine was blamed; while if Magnetism did not always cure, it was declared to be the fault of the system of treatment, or of the magnetiser himself. It was, moreover, the tediousness of the magnetic process that caused magnetisers to avail themselves so willingly of the services of the “medical clairvoyant,” who not only caused a relapse into the habit of administering drugs, but, by contributing largely to the magnetiser’s reputation for quackery, did much

to strengthen the demand of the doctors that the right to magnetise should be confined to themselves.

The outcry of the doctors in the early part of the last century for a monopoly of the right to magnetise is interesting to us, because it has its parallel to-day in a similar demand on their part for the exclusive right to hypnotise. As the great majority of doctors believed that Magnetism was pernicious humbug, it stands to reason that they wanted the exclusive right to magnetise, not for the sake of making use of Magnetism, but for the purpose of killing it off by preventing its employment. It seems strange that, with the public so deeply prejudiced against Magnetism, and with the narrow limits within which its use was conditioned by circumstances, the doctors should fear it so much. The reason why they did so, however, is not far to seek. One of the blessings attributed to Animal Magnetism, and on which every writer on the subject dwells, is that it enables anyone to alleviate the sufferings of others. It enables the parent to give health and vitality to the child, the husband to the wife, or *vice versâ* ; in fact, to a great extent it obviates the necessity for calling in the doctor ; for there is nothing in the art of magnetising that cannot be learned in a week sufficiently for family practice, that is to say, sufficiently to meet the requirements of the "out-of-sorts" or "not-feeling-well" condition which creates the "doctor habit." And in most cases professional magnetisers were glad to avail themselves on occasion of the magnetic assistance of a member of the patient's family ; indeed, it some-

times happened that a parent or a husband performed a remarkable cure when shown how to operate. For instance, Dr. Elliotson writes in the "Zoist" about a case of this kind:—

"I showed his wife how to make slow passes from opposite his forehead to opposite his stomach with one hand, held at a distance of a few inches from his face, both parties looking at each other in perfect silence, and all the room being perfectly still, for at least half-an-hour, and at least once a day. I told her she might change her hand when it was tired, and that she must either stand before or at one side of her husband, or sit a good deal higher than he was, or her hand would soon tire; and that if he should go to sleep, she had better continue the passes till the sleep was deep, and then contentedly allow it to expend itself, as it was sure to do sooner or later. At the same time, I begged him to omit all medicine, and live just as had always been his habit. This was done, and he obtained a complete recovery."

Had this system of family magnetising been generally adopted, the function of the doctor would have become merely that of supervisor in serious cases; and, of course, that did not suit the Faculty at all. Moreover, the operating member of the family would soon have developed into an expert himself; and then what would have become of the doctors? It was the instinct of self-preservation that caused the doctors to clamour for a monopoly of Magnetism; and, as I have said, they succeeded in getting that monopoly in most European countries, unencumbered by any obligation to practise magnetic healing, and without giving any guarantee that if they did so they were in any way competent—either through study, or by natural gift.

From Mesmer down, however, magnetisers who belonged to the medical profession declared that only doctors should magnetise, and some lay

magnetisers backed them up in that opinion ; but Mesmer, De Puységur, and a hundred other magnetisers who took that view, certainly did not mean that the members of a profession that as a whole was completely opposed to Magnetism, and profoundly ignorant of it, should have the irresponsible monopoly of its employment. Neither could they have wished to convey the impression that the study of official or orthodox medicine gives to the doctors the smallest knowledge of Magnetism. What their demand for a monopoly meant was that a knowledge of Animal Magnetism should form part of the equipment of every physician ; that only a person who understood both systems of treatment, and could use either effectually as the occasion presented itself, should be allowed to practise Medicine ; for, with the exception of Mesmer, and a few other early enthusiasts, every magnetiser acknowledged that there are cases in which Magnetism (at least with our present knowledge of it) does no good, and in which the sufferer must recur to other methods for arousing the curative forces of Nature.

The effect of making Animal Magnetism a monopoly of the doctors was disastrous to it as a subject needing exploration and study in and for itself ; for the medical men who employed it used it empirically, as they did their drugs, or explained its action by some superficial hypothesis ; and they deprecated its use for any other purpose than the cure of disease. Even Dr. Esdaile, a daring, original, and very successful magnetiser (about whom I shall have something to say further on), thought it wrong to induce the higher phenomena solely for the

purpose of scientific study. It was only in France and in the United States, countries that refused to give the doctors a monopoly, that new developments in Magnetism took place. Those new developments have been more and more in the direction of the psychological side of Animal Magnetism, which the doctors, by reason of the materialistic nature of their education, are, as a body, perhaps less qualified to deal with than any other educated people; and these developments have, in fact, been largely the work of laymen. What is now known as Hypnotism is chiefly mental in its operation; but Hypnotism, as understood and practised by Braid, was principally physical, in regard both to causes and to effects. It was because this was the case that Hypnotism came into touch and into conflict with Magnetism; and Braid's discovery was, of all the causes that worked against the magnetisers, the one which operated with the greatest effect, by taking the wind out of the sails of Animal Magnetism and leaving it becalmed. Mesmerism to-day is just where it was half a century ago.

Magnetism as a healing agent also became to some extent discredited through being associated in the public mind with a certain type of Spiritualism, which advertised itself as a branch of Animal Magnetism. This school of Magnetism (so-called) or branch of Magnetism, was found chiefly in France, and came to a head in the forties, thus overlapping modern Hypnotism, although ante-dating it in origin; and it was injurious to Animal Magnetism as a whole because it introduced into it matters that had no direct connection with it, and against which

strong prejudice existed. I allude to Spiritualistic Magnetism, the best known exponent of which is Cahagnet. This was quite a different thing from the early "Spiritualistic" school of Faith Healers. It grew out of clairvoyance, being founded on the revelations of lucid somnambulists ; and was a mixture of those revelations, of the system of Swedenborg, and of Modern Spiritualism, with a flavouring of mediæval superstition, and a dash of ceremonial magic.* Although the magnetisers of this school occupied themselves with the cure of disease, their chief object was to acquire, through the instrumentality of Magnetism, the certainty of a future life, and to learn its conditions. It must be remembered that the boundaries of all the seemingly independent departments of Psycho-physics are very vague. It is sometimes impossible to discriminate between the physical and the mental in Magnetism, both in regard to cause and to effect ; and the magnetic sleep, if the process of magnetising be continued, passes through deepening stages until perfect lucidity is reached, in which the vision of the clairvoyant is seemingly independent of the limitations of time and space. The practice of each sectarian—Magnetiser, Mesmeriser, Hypnotiser, Suggestionist, Psychometrist—is to put a ring fence round a portion of the field, and to confine himself to what he finds therein, ignoring or denying all that lies beyond. The unseen forces or intelligences, however, have no respect for our arbitrary names

* The clairvoyance developed by some of these spiritualistic magnetisers was of a very extraordinary and highly interesting nature, especially the clairvoyance of Cahagnet's clairvoyant Adèle, who was virtually a spiritual medium ; but "that is another story."

and divisions, and almost from the first it occasionally happened that a clairvoyant in the highest magnetic condition saw, described, and conversed with what he believed to be the spirits of the departed; or found himself transported for a time to their abode; all of which, to the more matter-of-fact or scientific magnetiser, as well as to the general public, was nothing short of a scandal to Animal Magnetism.

Dupotet and Lafontaine.

Dupotet.

The new or Puységurean school of magnetism is intimately connected with the names of Baron Dupotet de Sannevoy, and Mons. Lafontaine of Geneva, who, of all "the great magnetisers," undoubtedly did the most extensive and valuable missionary work during the forty years that followed the death of Mesmer. No one else had the courage, enthusiasm, or ability to do what they did. It is sometimes said that "but for Dupotet magnetism would have been forgotten after Mesmer, as it was after Van Helmont"; that is equally true of Lafontaine, and before I pass on to the consideration of Braid's work, I must say something about these two missionaries. Dupotet was born in 1796, in Sannevoy (Yonne), of a noble family which had been ruined by the Revolution. He was an idle boy, but one day he heard his father describing him to a neighbour as a "good-for-nothing," and that touched his pride, and he set to work to learn. He studied medicine, but what interested him most were books on Magic. In 1815 he heard of Mesmer for the first time, and soon became deeply interested in

Animal Magnetism. He read everything on the subject on which he could lay his hand, and visited De Puységur and Deleuze, who received the young enthusiast kindly, and whom he describes as at that time much disheartened by the then prospects of Magnetism. Previously to these visits he had discovered in himself an extraordinary magnetic power. His first experience had been to throw two young ladies in a few minutes into a profound trance, from which he did not know how to awaken them; for several hours he worked at it in much trepidation, but without avail, when happily they woke up of their own accord. The result of his visits to Deleuze and De Puységur was a determination to devote his life to the study and propaganda of Animal Magnetism. For many years he put himself at the disposal of any scientific man who desired to see experiments, and he was continually employed by the physicians of the different Parisian hospitals to magnetise patients when they desired to make experiments or witness phenomena, and to teach them how to produce the effects themselves.* He was in great demand for that purpose, because he could generally produce at once effects which other magnetisers were able to obtain only after many sittings. His

* In his lectures at the University of Paris (translated and published in *The Lancet* for 1832-33), the celebrated Dr. Andral describes how two sceptical medical men experimented after seeing Dupotet magnetise at the Hotel Dieu. One threw the other into an alarming trance, cold, blue, corpse-like. When with great difficulty he was brought back to life, he said he had been enjoying supreme happiness. Yet Dr. Andral was no believer in Animal Magnetism, and called the instinct of remedies "the acme of imposition, jugglery, and quackery." Of course the unfortunate experience of these uninstructed doctors is quoted as proving "the danger of Magnetism."

experiences with men of science showed him how unwilling, even unable, they were to recognise facts for which their theories did not furnish them with a plausible explanation; and he did not acquire a high opinion of their intelligence, for their constant endeavour was to bring the phenomena under some known law, obstinately shutting their eyes to anything that refused to go into one or other of their scientific pigeon holes. Dupotet thought that it was too soon to apply strictly scientific methods to Animal Magnetism. He says, "Science knows the agents that it employs, we do not know those we use; and that deprives our explanation of all scientific character. But our creations, the phenomena produced by us, are facts nevertheless." In 1828 Dupotet opened a School of Magnetism in Paris, and soon nearly a hundred pupils were attending his demonstrations, a considerable proportion being medical men. He visited London in 1837, remaining there for 22 months, and doing much to create an interest in Animal Magnetism, which was then hardly known at all in England. He says that for a long time he had to bear every kind of ridicule, insult, and indignity, but that after some months he in great measure succeeded in allaying the prejudice and enmity; and while in London he published a work in English, "An Introduction to the Study of Animal Magnetism," which is still an authority on the subject. When he returned to France, he made an extensive tour in the Provinces, staying for a time in many of the chief cities, where on arrival he always met a violent opposition on the part of the doctors, but generally leaving behind him a group

of pupils, or a society of students who carried on magnetic cures and experiments after he had gone.

Dupotet believed, and claimed to prove, that the sleep, to produce which was the object of all the other magnetisers, was not necessary for cure; for he believed that "the magnetic medium, like opium, contained in itself a curative virtue." He held that the fluid, at whatever point it enters the body, circulates in it, and passes out by the extremities. He found that complete incredulity was no obstacle to the operation of Magnetism. He said that silk and metals have no counteracting effect, as at that time they were believed by other magnetisers to have. De Puységur had said that the magnetiser will never be able to do more than to "turn the handle"; but Dupotet believed that the magnetiser could do more than only act mechanically, because he could to some extent understand and regulate "the machine" itself. Dupotet was much more of an experimenter than any other prominent magnetiser, and he produced most of the phenomena now called "hypnotic," for these phenomena were, almost all of them, known to the magnetisers, but were seldom induced by them, although they were the staple phenomena of the electro-biologists a few years later on. Dupotet, however, gave to these phenomena a peculiar explanation of his own—he considered them magical performances. Although he could do, and did, all that the other magnetisers accomplished, he claimed that, in addition, he produced effects which were quite different from any that they obtained, or which he himself produced by their processes. He says:—

“The agent (Magnetism) that is employed, has its inherent properties ; left to itself, that is to say, when it is not impregnated with the properties which the soul or spirit can give it, it acts in conformity with the laws of physics, and presents analogies with the magnet. The important thing is to know in the first place what are the natural fixed properties of the magnetic agent, and then to understand those that we can impart to it by our will.”

The material or mechanical means employed by the ordinary magnetisers, such as fixing the eye, making passes, touching or pointing to different parts, he considered to produce results according to the “natural, fixed properties of the magnetic agent”; and when they were assisted by the will of the magnetiser it so happened that it was always with the definite intention of curing a patient that they were employed. But when the soul or spirit was infused into the Magnetism, he thought that almost any desired result might be obtained; but not so much by a direct operation of the will, as by a distinct set of laws which in that case govern the manifestations of the “magnetic agent,” which then becomes a magical agent. He says:—

“By an act of my understanding I separate from myself a force. That force is real, though invisible. Deposited upon anything it fixes itself there as an essence ; and soon it exercises an influence upon its surroundings, and magic begins : that is to say extraordinary phenomena take place which strike us with astonishment. It is not that which we will that takes place ; no, we have nothing to do with what occurs.”

It was by the exercise of this power that Dupotet worked what he called his “magic telegraph,” by which he could produce either physical or mental effects, but which was worked in both cases *mentally*, and would at present undoubtedly be called “mental suggestion.” Hypnotists will recognise in Dupotet’s description of the phenomena he

produced a curious mixture of those which they know under separate names, such as imitation, fascination, echolala, illusions of the senses, and hallucinations. He says:—

“I think in front of someone magnetised, he hears me, and repeats the words that I pronounce interiorly; I make a gesture, a sign, and he repeats it with such rapidity that the two motions are one. I drink, he drinks; I sing, and he sings in the same tone and time; I cough, spit, he does the same; I suffer pain in some part, he suffers in the same way, any exclamation the pain draws from me he repeats exactly.”

Those he calls physical phenomena; and by fixing the eye of the subject he produced an imitation so instantaneous that it was impossible to say which of the two was the imitator. Braid noticed the same instantaneity in hypnotic imitation, and so have modern hypnotists, who also can produce this phenomenon. The “spiritual” effects of his “magic telegraph” he thus describes:—

“I take a glass of water; at my thought, by my will, this liquid will no longer be water, but wine, brandy, liqueur, medicine, and I see effects produced as real, as positive as by those agents themselves. . . And for these phenomena, is it necessary that the subject should be asleep? Not at all! He is awake, sees with his eyes, has his wits about him, and yet cannot resist the power of a creation which people call ‘imaginary.’ I create fire, I make a cold thing burning, or my subject will hold a hot coal in his hand without being burned. . . I think of cold, and he shivers. I go in imagination on the sea, and he becomes seasick and vomits.”

He goes on to say that in the same way, by a thought, he could arouse any passion he desired in the mind of his subject. These mental effects, or effects of mental suggestion, seem to have been common to the magnetisers sixty or seventy years ago; for Dupotet does not at all claim them as his speciality, but says, “It is child’s play for the

magnetisers to-day to take away the power of hearing, feeling, or seeing by simply willing it, without saying a word." Another common physical experiment which Dupotet and other magnetisers performed was to make some passes over one of several similar chairs in the absence of the subject, who, when called into the room, sat in each chair for a moment successively, and fell asleep when he came to the magnetised one, the other chairs having no effect on him. This the magnetisers called "putting magnetism into, or on, the chair"; but Dupotet regarded it as a magical operation. It is difficult to conceive what the modern Suggestionist could make of the phenomena, unless he attributed it to mental suggestion. Dupotet, in fact, did not regard these phenomena as instances of the subject *believing* that he was tasting or hearing or seeing one thing when in reality he was tasting or hearing or seeing something else, which is the suggestionist explanation, an explanation which rests upon the completely credulous condition of the subject. Dupotet considered that the subject really did have the sensorial experiences which he said he had, not merely that he believed that he had them. The subject in a "magical" way actually tasted, saw, and heard *by making use of the operator's sense organs*; and this, when he had the subject in complete *rapport* with himself, Dupotet called "installing himself in the subject." He says, moreover, "It is not only his own soul that the magnetiser has power to lodge in the body of his subject, when he has driven out the subject's own; he can introduce that of another person, living or dead, and transform his subject into

any personage he pleases: Cæsar, Napoleon, Talma; even into a young girl, full of modesty." That, of course, is a common experiment of the electro-biologists; and is known in Hypnotism by the name its "discoverer" Charles Richet gave it—"the objectivation of types."

Dupotet also practised what is now known as "verbal suggestion," a phenomenon which was brought into prominence by the electro-biologists, and is now used by all schools of Hypnotism for the cure of disease. But Dupotet complicated verbal suggestion in a curious way, by associating it with some physical act or thing, which, according to his magical theory, was the *vehicle* for the transmission of magnetic influence, for he thought that Magnetism is the connecting link between soul and matter, or the agent by which the soul acts on the body. He thought that the material sign is the vehicle that conveys the magical power; for instance, he believed that the sign of the cross, or holy water, in former times conveyed the real effect-producing blessing of a priest; but that those signs did so only when animated by the soul or spirit of the person who gives the benediction; and that the priests have now lost the magnetic or magical knowledge of how to put their own Magnetism into the blessings they give, therefore these are now merely perfunctory ceremonials or conventional expressions of good will. He describes an experiment in verbal suggestion, as he performed it, thus:—

"I take a man full of health and strength, and I put another person's cane into his hand, and say to that man, who is wide awake: 'You will be drunk in a minute, and you will feel and behave like a drunken man.' The subject smiles, and looks at

me, doubting not my good faith, but my power. Hardly has a minute elapsed before he begins to stagger, his expression changes, his eyes grow bloodshot, &c."

To remove the "spell" an electro-biologist would clap the subject on the back, and cry "All right!" and a Suggestionist would tell him that he was quite sober again; but Dupotet having, both in his own mind and in that of the subject, *associated the drunkenness with the physical act of holding the cane*, had merely to take that cane out of the staggering man's hand and he immediately became sober again. In a similar way, by the action of some arbitrarily chosen talisman, he turned his subjects into old people, "with every sign of decrepitude in attitude and feature." These experiments would undoubtedly, and perhaps rightly, be attributed to simple Suggestion; and they are matched by suggestions given by our hypnotists in which some material thing acts as a reminder of the Suggestion. For instance, when a hypnotist gives a ring to a subject, and tells him that whenever he turns it round on his finger three times he will go to sleep, Suggestion would be an entirely satisfactory explanation of this "magical" phenomenon, were it not that it is known to those who have investigated hypnotic phenomena more deeply than our modern hypnotists do, that there is an obscure class of phenomena which seem to imply the existence of some extraneous force or influence, the nature and extent of which are now unknown. The experiences of the magnetiser Cahagnet, and the experiments of Colonel de Rochas, Dr. Baraduc, and others are cases in point; but as they deal with matters that lie in great part beyond my present field, I can do no

more than suggest that some of Dupotet's "magical" work may possibly have involved that unknown but apparently very real force or influence. I allude to the experiments which Dupotet describes in his "Magie Devoilée." In that work, he says that he left the road made by Mesmer and De Puységur, which was servilely followed by the other magnetisers, and the phenomena obtained by which he considered purely physical—and had applied himself to developing a Magnetism which resembles that of Paracelsus, Van Helmont, and other ancients, for it was founded on the power of the soul. This he thought to be the true Magnetism of Mesmer, which he had refrained from revealing. Dupotet's idea was that there is one "living force," which is wielded by the "soul," or thought-power of man. This force sets in motion the "dead" forces, among which are electricity and magnetism; but those are only two of an unknown number of forces which it is probably in the power of the soul to set into action, and which forces, when put into motion, produce effects that have to be *experimentally studied*, since their operation is at present unknown. In fact, Dupotet believed in "magic," but without being superstitious, for he took the scientific view that the effects produced by the magicians are due to natural causes, being the result of certain forces in Nature, the existence of which in former times was known to a few students, who handed down their knowledge of those forces to a small number of successors under pledge of secrecy, but who guarded them most jealously from the public. Over and over again he claims that he has re-discovered the existence of the mysterious force with which the

magicians worked, and says that he does not know if any of the secret brotherhood still remains on earth, but that, at all events, the obscure but tremendous forces, though now forgotten or ignored, still exist undiminished. It is not easy for anyone educated in our present scientific ideas to grasp such conceptions, which differ from our present notions in that they introduce life into everything, and accord to "the soul" the power to imbue the "brute" forces of Nature with a portion of life sufficient for the carrying out of certain purposes. Looked at with that idea in the mind, everything takes on a different aspect, somewhat like the entirely different appearance which plants would assume in the eyes of anyone who had studied botany only in a herbarium, and for the first time saw the living herbs growing in the fields, instead of cut and dried and put up in bundles.

In the first place, Dupotet adopted Mesmer's idea, that when the forces of Nature are set in motion by the will or "soul," the action is like that of flame, which spreads by its own energy so long as it has material to feed on. With a single match one might burn a whole city; and even so, by setting in motion certain natural forces, a man might do great good or great harm — might create or destroy, cure or kill. Once a natural force is set going in this way (psychically instead of physically, as Science now only sets natural forces going), the soul imparts to it a kind of intelligence that causes it to do the work demanded of it. No further effort is required, but he who sets the force in motion must be ready to control it, and to arrest it, or unforeseen

and disastrous consequences may happen. That which is necessary to awaken and direct the "magic" force is *will*, which Dupotet conceived as a strong, firm, unwavering, clearly conceived *intention* when doing the thing needful to set the force in motion. Our present Science does not recognise the power of intention, and never attempts to use it; and its material and mechanical methods of "generating" and using natural forces, effective as they are in some respects, when compared with the psychic method may be said to bear a relation to it similar to that which compulsion bears to persuasion. We pride ourselves upon being able to "tame," or "harness" the forces of Nature, and we can do so to some extent, but those forces always resist us instead of acting with us, and require constant exertion on our part to keep them in action.

Those were Dupotet's ideas; and here is one of his experiments. He drew two straight parallel lines with charcoal, about four or five feet long, and twelve inches apart; and, just beyond the opening at one end, he drew a spiral, or coil, some ten or twelve inches in diameter. These lines he drew slowly, with intense concentration, and with the strong image in his mind that *the lines are the road to a great precipice, and that the coil is that tremendous precipice*. That done, he exerted his will no more, but requested someone to stand at the other end of the lines and look at the coil. That person felt nothing at first, and after a few minutes perhaps asked what is expected to happen, but was not informed; but presently he commenced to look at the coil with apparent curiosity and attention, and began to move

slowly, in a hesitating way towards it. "His face gradually assumes an expression of anxiety, then of astonishment and fear; he drops on his knees, and crawls slowly forward, clutching the ground, until he has reached the end of the lines, and lying flat, peers into the coil, his hair standing on end, and his breath coming convulsively. In a moment or two he sinks down unconscious, and is quickly carried away, to slowly recover consciousness in another room." When he comes to himself the subject has no recollection what has happened, except that the last thing he remembers is that he was standing at the end of the lines looking at the coil, and wondering what would happen.

Dupotet's "magic mirror" was roughly made with charcoal on the floor; after looking in it for some minutes the percipient saw things which greatly excited him, but of which he very seldom retained any recollection; generally what he saw filled him with terror or horror, but sometimes he seemed to have delightful visions, and occasionally he saw things that caused immoderate laughter. Those who were undergoing that experience did not speak, though they gave vent to exclamations. That Suggestion may have entered into these visions is very possible, but Dupotet says, and repeats it more than once, that his *subjects were ignorant of what was to occur*; that no word was spoken; that the person experimented upon was, in many cases, a stranger called in on the spot, who had never heard of Magnetism. A kind of psychometry seems to have entered into some of his experiments; for instance, on one occasion he covered the mirror with some dry earth

taken from an ancient Druidical monument, and the “percipient” saw a vision of five human victims being sacrificed, the singular thing being that five skeletons were found in the place from which the earth was taken. These figures drawn by Dupotet on the floor exercised a powerful “fascination”; it often happened that those merely looking on at the experiment were seized by the “magic” influence, and rushed forward to peer into the mirror, violently pushing aside anyone who was in their way, and having quite a battle with the person already in possession of the mirror. Some subjects, on the other hand, were not affected by the mirror at all.*

Dupotet’s method of magnetising was extremely simple, for he did not make contact with the subjects, and attached little importance to fixing their eyes. He believed that the will was the potent instrument in Magnetism, and that the complicated manipulations which most other magnetisers employed were quite unnecessary if the operator had a strong will, which he had trained to act as he desired. He used the passes freely, however, and considered them to be the mechanical equivalent to the will as directing the magnetic fluid. He noticed that the “emission of the fluid” is not even, and he rested for a few minutes every now and then in order to let his forces recuperate. There is no doubt that Dupotet produced very powerful results by his process, one of which results seems to have been

* During his magical operations Dupotet felt a strange sensation, as if in some way he was necessary in the matter. He conducted his magical experiments on Sunday mornings, before a large concourse of pupils and friends; and he never took payment for these “demonstrations.”

a good deal of difficulty (occasionally) in demagnetising his subject, although the sleep he produced does not appear to have been deeper than that induced by most other magnetisers.

Lafontaine.

Another great magnetiser and propagandist of Magnetism was Charles Lafontaine, born in 1803, and the author of "*L'Art de Magnétiser.*" It is hard to say whether Dupotet or Lafontaine did the most to keep Animal Magnetism alive after the death or retirement of Mesmer and of his immediate pupils; but they differed not only in their sentiments in regard to Magnetism, but also in their field of operations. Dupotet was an idealist, who thought he had reached a knowledge beyond that of other magnetisers, and who relied greatly upon the innate and mysterious power of the will. To cure disease, although a most worthy aim, appeared less important to him than to understand a tremendous and, as yet, almost unknown power or natural force, which seemed to him to be more psychical than physical in its nature and manifestations. Lafontaine was a whole-hearted believer in the fluid theory, and he accorded to will no other power than that of enabling the magnetiser to project and direct his own magnetic fluid. He expressed all magic and miracle in the terms of the magnetic or vital fluid, and thus he was almost a materialist in Magnetism as compared to Dupotet. Again; Dupotet exerted himself principally to convince those who belonged to the superior order in intelligence and éducation; he spent years in attendance at the hospitals of Paris to magnetise

patients there at the request and for the benefit of doctors and men of science. His demonstrations were semi-private, and he relied for the ultimate triumph of Magnetism more upon teaching his pupils than upon the conspicuousness of the cures he made. Lafontaine, on the other hand, very soon got disgusted with the treatment he received from the medical world, and appealed to the lay world, to the people themselves, making the cure of disease his principal object, and relying on the results he obtained in that direction as much as on his exhibitions of the strange phenomena for success in his propaganda. Like Dupotet, wherever he went Lafontaine received pupils, and endeavoured to found little societies that would persevere in their studies and healing work after he had gone ; and, like Dupotet, he produced clairvoyance at his demonstrations as an evidence of the reality and importance of Magnetism ; but all the time his principal object was to try to convince the lay world, *the people themselves*, that they had in their hands an extraordinary power of curing each other's diseases without the use of drugs, if they chose to learn from him the simple and easy means of exercising that power. But, nevertheless, nothing could have been more brutal and irrational than the treatment which Lafontaine at first received from the public ; he was undoubtedly for some years in danger of grievous bodily harm when he opened his lectures in new places ; and we find that, as with Dupotet, the local medical men were always the leaders, and, as he believed, the instigators of the opposition. It is difficult to understand now the

intense hatred which not only the magnetiser but also his subjects incurred sixty or seventy years ago. Why the audience should storm the platform on which a lecturer was endeavouring to demonstrate to them that they possessed a power to cure each other's maladies, and should violently assault the lecturer himself, and do cruel and cowardly injuries to his entranced subjects, seems to be explicable only on the hypothesis of epidemic insanity of a certain kind ; and it is in itself a curious and interesting psychological phenomenon. But, after a time, Lafontaine in great measure lived down this idiotic opposition ; and, even at first, wherever he went it died away after a week or so, for his plan was to remain in each town long enough to make some striking cures among the inhabitants. A large number of these cures were of persons in the higher grades of society, who had tried every other means of cure in vain, and when they were cured these people made the virtues and wonders of Magnetism known among their own set, insomuch that it sometimes happened to Lafontaine to have his lecture broken up by an organised band of howling opponents, and the next evening to be the guest of some marquis or duke, and be received with every expression of consideration by a room full of the nobility.

Lafontaine's belief in the existence of a fluid led him to make some very interesting experiments with regard to the action of this fluid upon inanimate objects, and nothing shows the empire which prejudice wields over our theories more than the fact that his positive demonstration that inanimate

objects are influenced by the "passes" has hitherto been carefully ignored by men of science. He suspended a bar of copper, about six inches long and as thick as a knitting needle, by a delicate thread in a large glass vase, the top of which was hermetically sealed, and this bar he caused to turn one way or other by making a few passes in front of the glass. This apparatus stood permanently in his room, and all his pupils could act similarly on the copper bar, and there does not seem to be any reason why the experiment should not be repeated at any time. Another experiment which he tried frequently at his lectures and demonstrations was to put the somnambule in a scale, exactly balanced, and standing over her, to attract her by magnetic passes, so that the tray of the scales in which she sat rose and the other fell, the magnetiser's hands being held several inches above her head. This experiment was always made in full view, and it is as "scientific" in character as any experiment in ordinary physics, but it has remained as much ignored by men of science as it was when Lafontaine was showing it in the various towns he visited. Lafontaine was in England in 1840 and '41, and created a sensation, according to the *Times* and other newspapers of that day, by magnetising a lion in the Zoological Gardens, London, a performance which he repeated in some other English cities. It seems a pity that Braid was not present on one of these occasions.

Lafontaine's plan was to produce before his audience two or more subjects whom he had completely under his control through previously having

repeatedly magnetised them, and thus fully developed their magnetic susceptibilities. With one of these subjects he demonstrated the physical phenomena, such as insensibility, catalepsy, attraction, and so on; with another he demonstrated thought reading and clairvoyance. Occasionally he was called upon by his audience to demonstrate his science upon someone in the body of the hall, and as this was almost always a person who was well known locally, he never refused to do it, if he judged that the volunteer was at all a likely subject. Being a very powerful magnetiser, his successes in this way were frequent, and although the process of magnetising someone for the first time, especially under such conditions, was calculated to severely exercise the patience of his audience, he attributed much of his popularity to his successes in these cases. He seems to have had little difficulty, wherever he went, in finding and developing excellent clairvoyants, and this he preferred to taking subjects round with him, for in the latter case he found that there was always a suspicion of connivance and trickery. He relates some curious experiences, which he explains always by the fluid theory, one at least of which experiences seems to be inexplicable on any other hypothesis. He says, in his "*Mémoires d'un Magnétiseur*":

"One day, in my absence, Clarisse (one of his subjects) took it into her head to magnetise another young woman who had never been magnetised. The girl was soon in a deep sleep, but when Clarisse proceeded to de-magnetise her a curious phenomena happened: Clarisse herself fell into the magnetic sleep, as if all the fluid which she had communicated to the subject had passed over into her. It was now the turn of the other to awaken

Clarisse, which she succeeded in doing, but the moment Clarisse awoke she herself again fell asleep; Clarisse awoke the girl a second time, but immediately fell asleep again herself, and this time, to the alarm of the spectators, her sleep was accompanied by convulsive movements, which soon became a violent nervous attack. They sent for me in haste, and when I arrived the other girl, who was much frightened, was becoming similarly attacked."

Lafontaine in his "Mémoires" gives an account of a séance the like of which never occurred again in his experience, and which puzzled him not a little. He announced to the audience that his clairvoyante had disappointed him, and they expressed themselves satisfied if he operated only upon his other subjects for physical effects. He thereupon put his three somnambules to sleep, but had to awaken two of them, as they exhibited unlooked-for phenomena of attraction, for when he paralysed their legs to prevent them coming to him, they slid off their chairs and rolled over to his feet. Presently a lady in the body of the hall went into a trance, and her body grew stiffly cataleptic. Hardly had he brought her to, when a gentleman sitting near fell into the same state. He took the gentleman out of his trance, and got both these strangers to go on the platform, and to allow him to experiment with them; but very soon two more of the audience became entranced, and while he was attending to them four more followed suit; and then others were "taken," and as quickly as he awoke one, another fell asleep and stiffened. Then extraordinary phenomena of attraction occurred, the subjects being drawn towards him against their will, and in spite of the efforts of those near them to prevent it. He dismissed his own subjects; and the audience, in a state of great

excitement and amusement, left their seats, and crowded up in disorder to get a good view of the strange proceedings. As each of the stricken ones was brought to, Lafontaine had him or her conveyed out of the hall, but it was two o'clock in the morning before he left the hall himself; and when he did so, he was thoroughly exhausted, and on reaching his hotel he fainted for the first and only time in his life. These epidemic phenomena were common with Sunderland, as we shall see, but he had them perfectly under control.

In some places Lafontaine speaks of the insults and indignities to which he had to submit, always apparently at the instigation of either the doctors or the priests, for with few exceptions the priests attributed his doings to the help of the "Old Gentleman" himself. When the police gave him notice to leave Naples, the Count de Reyneval, the French Ambassador, a warm friend of Magnetism and of Lafontaine himself, applied to King Ferdinand, who gave permission in writing for him to remain, his words being: "I consent that Mons. Lafontaine remains in Naples, on condition that he makes no more blind people to see nor deaf ones to hear." The reason of this strangely-worded document was that Lafontaine was very successful in curing cases of blindness and deafness, and the priests had declared to the King that this was a blasphemous imitation of the miracles of Christ. Good old Pius IX. was much more sensible; he received Lafontaine in audience, at the request of the Count de Reyneval, and chatted with him for twenty minutes, showing much curiosity and interest. Lafontaine describes the audience in his "*Mémoires*,"

and there is no reason whatever to doubt its truthfulness. It was published at the time and was never questioned, as it certainly would have been had it not been accurate, for it contains an expression of opinion by the Pope about Animal Magnetism which Lafontaine's enemies would have been very glad to have stigmatised as a fabrication. Lafontaine says:—

“I was introduced by the Cardinal Borromeo, who was good enough to tell me the ceremonial, which consisted in a genuflection on entering the room, and another when near the Pope, who offered his hand to the visitor in order that he might raise it and kiss his ring.

“The first word which his Holiness said to me was the enquiry whether I belonged to the same family as the good Lafontaine the Fabulist, and when I told him that I did he seemed much pleased. I presented him with a copy of my ‘Art de Magnetiser,’ bound in velvet, with the pontifical arms. He opened it.

“‘About Magnetism!’ he said, ‘Oh, Mons. Lafontaine, it is a weapon which may become very dangerous. I do not deny, I make no pretence of denying Magnetism: it is a natural effect, a physical effect, which has a purely natural cause, but I doubt its utility.’

“‘If your Holiness will permit me to say so, that depends upon the point of view from which you regard it. If it is looked upon as a means auxiliary to medicine and surgery, it may be of great utility. If, on the other hand, it is its marvellous side that is thought much of, it may be dangerous, like everything else, for there is nothing in the world that has not its bad side; even religion itself

“‘Oh, chut!’ said his Holiness, ‘I do not say that Magnetism may have no utility, only I doubt it, especially as a curative agent; but it is a natural effect, like electricity, which enters entirely into the order of physical nature.’”

Then, in reply to the Pope's questions, Lafontaine explained at some length the character of his processes and the nature of the cures he made: and in dismissing him the Pope said, “Well, Mons. Lafontaine,

let us wish and hope that, for the good of humanity, Magnetism may soon be generally employed."

Notwithstanding the insults and indignities he had to put up with, especially at the commencement of his public life as a magnetiser, Lafontaine says in his "Mémoires":—

"In all the countries which I have visited, in every town where I have stopped, I have, generally speaking, received a kindly welcome, not only from the people but also from the authorities. It is true that I have met difficulties here and there, but I have always overcome them by asking only for that which I believed I had a right to demand."

Lafontaine was a man of middle height, inclined to be stout, with a kind and somewhat serious face. When he magnetised he looked like personified concentration. It was often remarked that when a person on being introduced to Lafontaine had talked with him for a little while, he felt as if he had known him for ever so long, which feeling of "old acquaintance" shows that he had an eminently sympathetic nature. The following is Lafontaine's method of magnetising. It is simpler than most other methods, but requires more patience and sustained attention. On the other hand, it produces a far deeper magnetic state, and it is the best method for producing clairvoyance in a subject. I may remark that Lafontaine *recognised complete insensibility to sensations as the sign of the true magnetic sleep*; he said that most magnetisers only half magnetise their subjects, and then complain that they never get this or that result. I take this description out of the fifth edition of "L'Art de Magnetiser":—

"Before commencing the operation, you should ask those present to be seated and to remain silent; for it is essential that during the operation the attention both of the magnetiser and of the magnetised should not be disturbed, and that the former should

observe in his subject all the sensations which may be expressed in his countenance. In commencing, the operator should concentrate all his energies in one idea—that of acting on his subject.

“The subject and the magnetiser should sit face to face, the knees of the subject between those of the magnetiser, but not touching them; and the magnetiser seated on a somewhat higher seat, so that he may reach the subject’s head without fatigue. He should then touch the ends of the subject’s thumbs with the ends of his own, without pressing them*: the contact of the thumbs will put the brains of the magnetiser in direct *rapport* with that of the subject; the nerves of the latter, forming a prolongation of the nerves of the magnetiser, serve to conduct the fluid, and make complete the invasion by it of the subject’s nervous system.

“The magnetiser should then fix his eyes on those of his subject, who, on his part, should do all he can to look at his. He should continue this for fifteen or twenty minutes. It is probable that during this time the pupils of the subject’s eyes will contract and dilate inordinately, and his eyelids fall, not to rise again, notwithstanding his efforts.

“After the shutting of the eyes the magnetiser should continue to hold the subject’s thumbs until the eyes cease to roll under the eyelids, and deglutition no longer takes place; then he can let go the thumbs, and, drawing back a little and closing his hands, he should raise them on each side of the subject until they are over the subject’s head, and, opening them, he should hold them there for ten or fifteen seconds: then he should bring them down slowly past the subject’s ears and along his arms to the ends of the fingers. He should make eight or ten of these passes, each of which should take nearly a minute.

“Then, raising his hands above the subject’s head, he should bring them down before the subject’s face, chest and body, stopping from time to time at the epigastrium, and pointing the fingers at it. This he must continue for half an hour, or an hour.

“These motions should be made without touching the subject at a few inches distance. Each time the magnetiser raises his hands they should be closed. He should raise them gently, at the side and not in front of the subject, in order not to produce a come and go effect in the circulation of the fluid, which would produce a congestion if done in front of the subject. The magnetiser should also make some passes by raising his hands above the back of

* The subject loosely closing his hands leaving the thumbs turned upwards, and the operator laying his hands over those of the subject so that their thumbs meet.

the head, and bringing them down behind the ears and shoulders, and out along the arms.

“From the beginning to the end of the operation the operator should occupy himself only with what he is doing, in order, by the concentration of his will, to cause an emission of the fluid, and to transmit it to the subject.

“The operator will recognise the magnetic sleep by the corpse-like impassivity of the subject’s face, and the total absence of deglutition.

“After having operated in this way for a certain time, the magnetiser may ask the subject questions. If he is merely in a torpid state, or in natural sleep, he will wake up. In that case, the operation should cease, and the subject be strongly de-magnetised, for, although not put to sleep, the subject may have been so invaded by the fluid as not to be able to open his eyes.

“But if the subject is in the magnetic sleep, a deep sleep which no noise, and no sensation can bring him out of, he will not reply. If the magnetiser is not too tired, he should continue to magnetise him, in order to produce somnambulism, otherwise he should awaken him.

“But if the subject has passed through the magnetic sleep, and arrived at the state of somnambulism, he will hear the magnetiser when he speaks to him, and can reply. The magnetiser may then continue his questions for a few moments, for he must not tire the subject the first time; and then he should awaken him.

“When the magnetiser wishes to awaken the subject, he should make some passes from the shoulders to the feet, in order to free the head by drawing down the fluid. Then, putting some muscular force into the act, he must make long passes before his subject’s eyes and face, bringing his hands down the sides, until he gives signs of coming to himself. The subject should then be awake, but not yet in his normal state. The magnetiser should then blow cold on his eyes and pass his fingers along his eyebrows in order to free the eyes. This process must be continued or repeated until the subject is completely de-magnetised. The magnetiser may also make transverse passes over the stomach. The subject should be completely de-magnetised, or headache and heaviness in the limbs may follow later in the day.”

Lafontaine follows these instructions with some hints about what to do in case of slight incon-

veniences; such as the subject during the process becoming unable to breathe, or getting blood to the head, or becoming convulsed, the remedy for which little difficulties consists either in slight pressure on the solar plexus, quick sharp transverse de-magnetising passes, or long slow downward calming passes. In case of non-awakening when de-magnetised, the operator should rest, put his hands in cold water for a few minutes, and then dry them, and begin again. Some subjects are difficult to awake and the operator must not be alarmed, but must keep on de-magnetising. Lafontaine ends his instructions thus:—

“Whether all goes right or not, the magnetiser must remain cool, collected, and confident, He loses his power if he becomes confused or frightened.”

The English School.

The effect of Dupotet's and Lafontaine's propaganda of Animal Magnetism in England was greatly to increase the public interest in the subject. The English mesmerisers from 1840 to 1860 are a group that may be said to constitute a British School of Animal Magnetism, the key note of which may be found in the following paragraph of an article by Dr. Esdaile in the “*Zoist*”:—

“Wonderful to say, this greatly desiderated and almost unhopd for curative agent not only exists in Nature, but is an essential element in the human constitution, varying in different persons, of course, like all other bodily and mental gifts; and most persons possess the power of curing others, or of being themselves cured occasionally, by an inherent sanative influence propagatable between different individuals: for health is transmissible as well as disease, it appears.”

The same note was struck by Mr. Barham, a well-known magnetiser of the day, in a public

meeting at Bristol in the Forties, the Earl of Ducie in the chair, when he said:—

“The great majority of those who have carefully investigated the subject have come to the conclusion that there exists in man, as one of his constituent principles, a certain subtle element, known by the names of animal electricity, animal magnetism, galvanism, the nervous energy, the nervous fluid, etc. This element occupies a sort of intermediate position between soul and body, and it is by means of this animal electricity that our mental will acts upon our bodily organs.”

During those and the following years many excellent treatises on Mesmerism were published in this country, and other works on the subject were translated from French and German; Ashburner, Barth, Townshend, Colquhoun, Gregory, Sandby, and some others, have left us works on Mesmerism of great interest and value, which anyone who wishes to understand the subject in its different bearings, or to become a practical mesmeriser, should still study. These men may not have added much to what was already known, but they took a view of the nature and possibilities of Mesmerism which seems like a prophetic protest against the skin-deep theories and half-baked practices of many of our modern hypnotists. It is impossible, however, for me to do more than briefly to notice the ideas and labours of two mesmerisers of that period who stand head and shoulders above all their contemporaries, namely, Dr. Elliotson and Mr. Esdaile.

Elliotson.

No name is more familiar to the English mesmerist, and none more authoritative, than that of Dr. Elliotson; yet Dr. Elliotson never put his name to any work on the subject, for when pressed

to write a book about Mesmerism, as he continually was by mesmerisers and publishers, he always replied that, notwithstanding his many years of experience, he felt that he still knew too little of the subject to warrant him in speaking authoritatively. But although he never wrote a book on Mesmerism, the 13 volumes of the "Zoist," a monthly magazine which he founded in 1843 and edited to the end, and to which he was himself a constant contributor, perhaps gives us a better idea of his labours and ideas, and more actual instruction than had he left a work on Mesmerism in several volumes. Before he became interested in Mesmerism, Dr. Elliotson was recognised as the first physician of the day, and his lectures were regularly reported in the "Lancet," and besides enjoying the highest reputation both in and out of his profession, he had a very large and lucrative practice. It was chiefly through his endeavours that University College Hospital was founded, and he naturally became the head of it, and perhaps he took more interest in it, and thought he had a firmer footing there, than is usually the case with the Senior Physician of an Hospital. He was of a singularly independent and original disposition, delighting in experiments and in new ideas, insomuch that people called him eccentric. It is recorded that he broke through the old rules and conventions of his profession by being the first doctor to discard knee-breeches, and the first to cultivate a beard. He horrified his fellow physicians at University College Hospital by experimenting with enormous doses of poisonous drugs, and scandalised them by using a stethoscope, against which the whole profession at first set their faces (instead of their

ears): and he was not only the first to exhibit and practise auscultation, but he also gave the first impulse to clinical instruction, until then almost wholly unknown in England. He founded the Phrenological Society, and was its first President: and it was some experiments in phreno-magnetism which he witnessed that first drew his attention to Mesmerism. He “took up” Mesmerism with his usual enthusiasm and fearlessness, and not only held séances at his own house, but experimented freely with it at his Hospital. This was too much for his colleagues: to poison his patients through too much zeal was all very well, but to run the risk of curing them in so unorthodox a manner was quite too much for them: so they persuaded the governors of the Hospital to issue a prohibition of Mesmerism in the wards, and in consequence Dr. Elliotson sent in his resignation, which took effect in December, 1838. The immediate cause of the injunction by the Governors was Elliotson’s famous Harvean Oration in that year, an Oration which, by its defence of Mesmerism, gave great offence to older members of the Faculty, but which was warmly applauded by all who were present at its delivery.* It was not until 1849 that he founded the Mesmeric Hospital in London, an institution which for many years kept

* The real cause of his resignation from the University College Hospital was a resolution by the Council of the London University:—

“Resolved,—That the hospital committee be instructed to take such steps as they shall deem most advisable to prevent the practice of Mesmerism, or Animal Magnetism, in future within the Hospital.”

Four of the Council dissented, one being Lord Brougham. Many of his friends thought that had Dr. Elliotson stood less upon his dignity, and evinced more pugnacity, he would have done better for Animal Magnetism.

the flag flying, if it did not do much else. Dr. Elliotson, however, used Mesmerism in his private practice only when the patient desired it, or when he considered that no other method was capable of giving relief; and although the advocacy of Mesmerism very considerably lessened his practice, it by no means destroyed it; and he continued to be largely employed in consultations. Dr. Elliotson had the gift of making warm friends, as well as bitter enemies; and among the former were Dickens and Thackeray, both of whom allude to him in their writings. He died of decline in 1868.

As a mesmerist, Dr. Elliotson was remarkable for his determined advocacy of phreno-mesmerism, and for his denial that Will entered into the production of the mesmeric phenomena. Every mesmeriser who has experimented seriously with phreno-mesmerism has recognised as a fact that pressing or pointing to different parts of the cranium causes in the subject different emotions, or tendencies, or impulses; that these are constant for the same cranial locality excited; and that, in the main, the functions of the brain thus indicated correspond with the phrenological division of the head made by Gall.* But the explanations given for these facts differ according to the physical and psychological theories of the observers. The stock argument of those who

* Dr. Haddock, of Bolton, experimented in phreno-magnetism, and in his "Somnolism and Psychism" he says that he found he could excite the different qualities *by will*. More than that; he says "When I have had several subjects mesmerised at the same time, on touching and exciting the organs in the head of one, the others, without any touch or connection, or any knowledge of my action, have manifested the same sentiments, and each according to their peculiar genius and temperament."

deny the truth of phreno-magnetism is that you can establish "organs" anywhere by the simple process of Suggestion; in a couple of sittings you can fix the organ of Destruction in the elbow, the organ of Caution in the big toe, the organ of Tune in the little finger, and so on. Elliotson saw that not only the recognised phrenological organs might be thus parodied, but that by Suggestion, or "mesmeric education," you might establish in different parts of the body organs for waltzing, whist-playing, or anything else you liked; but he was shrewd enough to see that the establishment of organs by arbitrary association in this way does not prove that there are no natural divisions of function in the substance of the brain, which act normally when they are not perturbed or overpowered by Suggestion; and he warns those who experiment in phreno-mesmerism to be very careful to avoid Suggestion in their experiments. As to the will, he said:—

"All my most experienced friends, however mighty they acknowledge the power of the will to be, are satisfied that every effect may be produced without willing in addition to the mesmeric means of manipulation, contact, fixedness of look, etc."*

But he found that the curative effect was always proportional to the attention he gave to what he was doing, and that even looking away from his subject caused the passes to have very little effect. He does

* Dr. Perronet expresses the opposite opinion in his book, "Du Magnétisme Animal" (1884):—

"Whatever the process, magnetic passes or odd gestures made for the purpose of discharging an alleged fluid, they all have the same result: whatever value they have they derive from theories, or from beliefs subjectively conceived. . . . The stage business of passes, odd gestures, commanding or mysterious looks, is superfluous. . . . *The will alone gives efficacy to the act.* . . . The formula is of small account; will-force is everything."

not seem to have perceived that the manipulations are means which carry volition in themselves, if made with the attention and purpose, which, he says in many places, are necessary to produce an effect—that, in fact, concentrated attention and purpose in combination make the strongest kind of will—and he does not appear to have suspected that he himself, every time he mesmerised, exercised his will without knowing it. In later years, he thought that the phenomena could be produced in three ways—by Magnetism; by imagination; and by will power; but he believed that he operated not by will power or by imagination, but by Magnetism, that is to say, by some intrinsic virtue in the manipulations.

Nevertheless, Dr. Elliotson was an able reasoner and thinker, and in some points he anticipated the ideas of our present hypnotists. He was very near discovering the “sub-conscious personality.” He says :—

“No point in cerebral physiology is more curious than our unconscious reception of sensations, or unconscious prevention of consciousness of them, and the influence of unconscious knowledge and feelings over our actions.”

He thought that the brain can receive external impressions, and act on them quite unconsciously. He adduces the fact that knowledge acquired in the mesmeric sleep, and not remembered on waking, will determine thoughts and actions. It was the complete materialism which Dr. Elliotson affected at that time (he changed his opinions in after years) that made it impossible for him to see, as we now do, many things in Mesmerism in which the action of mind is

involved.* He was a thorough believer in the power of Suggestion. He tried the experiment of giving bread pills, telling the patients that they were opium, calomel, etc., and he found they produced the effects of the drug named. He ascribes this unusual action of those drugs to imagination; but does not say if he tried the same experiment without letting the patients know what effect to expect; upon which circumstance it seems to depend whether the result is auto-suggestion, mental suggestion by the operator, or a "virtue" actually put into the suppositious drugs. Again; he had one patient who fell asleep from "mere imagination." He told her he would magnetise her from the next room; but instead of doing so, he walked about, and tried not to think of her, but she fell into the mesmeric sleep.† Still

* Dr. Elliotson, in his work on Physiology, said that "the brain thinks, and feels, and wills, as clearly as the liver produces bile." Colquhoun replied: "Mind—soul, spirit, the immaterial principle,—produces, forms, creates, the brain."

Dr. Elliotson was far from being the only materialist whose magnetic studies led him to alter his opinions. The will of Georget, the celebrated French surgeon, contains this paragraph:—

"In 1821 I openly professed the doctrines of materialism in my work on the nervous system, which had scarcely appeared when repeated meditations on the very extraordinary phenomena of lucid somnambulism no longer allowed me to entertain any doubts of the existence, within us and external to us, of an intelligent principle altogether distinct from the material organisation. On this point I have a profound conviction, founded on facts which I believe to be incontrovertible."

† Dr. Elliotson also wrote in the "Zoist":—

"At length (after frequent mesmerising) there is sometimes such a sensibility that almost anything will induce sleep; indeed, no process at last may be requisite to produce the effect. I have three patients whom I was originally some weeks in sending to sleep, although I gave each half an hour daily of manipulation and gazing; but who now go to sleep on my merely raising my hand, or looking at them when they are prepared to expect sleep. I told each of them that if she sat still I would mesmerise her in the next room through the door. I retired, shut the door behind me,

again; he says that many things once thought part of the mesmeric state seem to be the result of habit, and can be removed by habit---such as susceptibility to cross mesmerism; "habit" is evidently used here for what is now called "hypnotic education." It is well known that subjects are affected in different ways when magnetised, and Elliotson attributed these differences chiefly to the subject, although he recognised that different magnetisers affect the same subject differently, there being, as he believed, latent sympathies and antipathies between individuals, which operate strongly in mesmerism, making the action of some magnetisers powerful, pleasant and curative for a given person, the action of other magnetisers weak, and sometimes even unpleasant and hurtful to them. Few of our present hypnotisers recognise this fact. Many people will, no doubt, sympathise with Dr. Elliotson when he moralises thus:

"It is surprising how many persons in the world have no force of character: are only big children—holding silly opinions on various subjects of which they know nothing, and acting without reason."

On one occasion Dr. Elliotson bandaged the eyes of a patient, telling her that she was being mesmerised, but himself doing nothing, and no effect was produced; then, her eyes still being bandaged, when she thought he was *not* trying to affect her he sent her to sleep by passes. That was in accordance with his theory, for he attributed the phenomena wholly to the "manipulations"; did nothing, but walked into a further room, turned back, and found her asleep; and so with the other two in succession. While I did this, I thought as little of them as possible, and busied myself with anything to distract my attention."

but another experiment, made soon after, puzzled him. A hat was held before a mesmerised subject's face, so that he could not see what was being done. Then, says the doctor, "I stood at his feet, and said aloud that I would draw up his legs. I did nothing, and yet his legs soon began to move, and at last rose to a level with his body. I then said nothing, but endeavoured to draw up his left arm by passes, but no effect ensued." Another clear case of Suggestion he interprets in a way well calculated to take him off the scent of a true explanation: He mesmerised a young man one day, who, "in the first stage of sleep-waking," mistook him for a girl, and they had a walk (imaginary) together. The doctor says :—

"I told him I had something very nice for him, and put some wormwood into his mouth, which he chewed with great apparent relish, saying, in reply to my question what it was, that he thought it was sweet cake. Such is the force of feeling in sleep-waking. Because he mistook me for someone whom he liked very much, he fancied that what I gave him must be excellent. This is a fine illustration of the working of a prejudice upon our judgment in a waking state."

Some of Dr. Elliotson's experiences, recorded in the "Zoist," should interest the Suggestionist. For instance, the experiment he thus describes :—

"I attempted to draw up her (the patient's) arms and head by tractive movements, but failed. But I discovered that if I said aloud they would move, they did. If I desired her to raise her arms or move her head, no effect followed; but if I said the thing would take place, it did. There was no attempt at trick in this. She frankly allowed that she heard me say the thing would take place; and I believe she was compelled to do it (as she said she was); though why a command or request had no such effect is remarkable. When asked why her arm moved when she was told it would she said that she did not know, that she heard what was said, and that she knew her arm went

up—she could not help it—and when it was up she could not put it down again: but when I said it would go down, it did.”

Here, again, is an instance from the “Zoist” of “post-hypnotic suggestion” as operated sixty years ago. Mr. T. W. Brindley, relating an experience with a magnetised subject, says :—

“Before de-magnetising her, I requested her in five minutes’ time to get up off her chair and blow out all the candles in the room. After restoring her, at the time specified, she rose from her chair and blew out all the candles. When asked why she did that, she said she could not tell, but that she felt unhappy till she had done it, and that the impulse was irresistible.”

It is the irresistible nature of the impulse in post-hypnotic suggestion, and the feeling of satisfaction when the suggested deed is done, that seem to connect those suggestions in some way with the impulsive actions of the insane.

Suggestion is a modern form or development of the “magnetic promise.” It was well known to the magnetisers that if the operator could get a somnambule to promise to do any particular thing after he awoke, he would do it without knowing why, as in “deferred suggestion.” A promise made in the magnetic state was always understood by magnetisers to be purely voluntary, and a matter of persuasion, whereas a post-hypnotic suggestion is of the nature of a command, which the subject obeys involuntarily, or at least finds it very difficult to “resist.” No explanation of how a magnetic promise acts was attempted by the magnetisers; but the hypnotisers account for Suggestion by supposing an inability on the part of the hypnotised subject to reason inductively, their premises being supplied by the hypnotiser, and accepted without

question, and commands being accepted in the same believing or passive spirit. This inability to reason inductively is not a phenomenon of somnambulist lucidity, and it is in that state that magnetic promises are made; but Colonel de Rochas, who has carried the process of Magnetism to an extreme limit, has found that there are twelve stages of the magnetic condition, separated from each other by a period of unconsciousness that may be only momentary, but always occurs; and that it is only in the earlier and lighter stages of Magnetism that Suggestion is possible, for when the sleep deepens into the lucid degree, suggestibility ceases. Tell a lucid patient ever so impressively that a chair is a cow, and he will laugh at you, or think you mad, just as a person in the waking state might do. This rather elementary fact is apparently unknown to the Suggestionists, probably because their method only produces the suggestible stages of hypnosis; but it seems as if the magnetic promise were the equivalent in the lucid somnambulist state for deferred suggestion in the (technically) hypnotic condition. The Suggestionists contend that the will of the hypnotiser counts for nothing in Suggestion; but in the lucid state his will or "intention" seems to count for a great deal, and the will or intention of the operator may be the force that operates in *persuading* the subject to make a magnetic promise. Teste, who thought that the art of the magnetiser consisted in "knowing how to impress his will opportunely," and who does not seem to have been aware that if a lucid subject promised to remember his experiences when magnetised he would do so, relates that on

one occasion he wished a lady whom he had magnetised to know certain medical facts about which he felt a delicacy in speaking to her when awake; he explained this to her, and she told him that if he *wished it very strongly* she would remember what he said. He explained the matter to her with a strong desire that she should remember all about it when she awoke, and she remembered it perfectly well. He adds "since that period, which formed an epoch in my magnetic studies, I have many times repeated the same experiment, and always with the same success." Teste mentions another suggestive instance of the same phenomenon. He had a patient of German birth, who spoke French with a disagreeable accent. He thus describes what happened on one occasion:—

"One day, as he was after doling out to me a string of words, in which, as if from design, those very consonants which he bungled most disagreeably happened to be collected together, I exclaimed, no longer able to contain myself, 'For goodness sake, M. Pradhier, speak French as it is spoken in Paris!' My somnambulist stopped quite short, seemed absorbed a minute or two, then, on my invitation, resumed the thread of his story, but with a purity of accent that actually confounded me. I then asked him if it would not be possible for him to retain, on awakening, the happy fruits of the strange grammar lesson I had just given him, without, however, intending it. 'Nothing more simple,' he said, 'you have but to wish it.' 'Well, then, I wish it: be it so.'"

Teste goes on to say that when Mons. Pradhier awoke he spoke like a Parisian born; but next day he had somewhat relapsed into his "Hamburg peculiarities," and was re-magnetised; and a few more repetitions of the Suggestion (as we would call it) made the Parisian accent permanent; insomuch that "one might listen to Mons. Pradhier

for whole hours without ever suspecting his birth-place."

Dr. Elliotson investigated the mesmeric promise, and all that seems to be wanting in many of his experiments to bring them up to date to-day is the name "Suggestion." Here is a case in point:—

"She (Miss Collins) promised to see her maid sitting in the room with her bonnet on as soon as she awoke, and not after I coughed. I awoke her; she was astonished at the sight, and looked displeased; but as soon as I coughed, saw her sitting as usual, with her cap on. She could not comprehend this, and thought her maid was hiding the bonnet behind her back."

Another case, which presents some singular features, is that of a lady whom Elliotson induced to promise that when she awoke she would fancy herself inside a little jar that contained flowers. When awakened she imagined this to be the case, and complained of the disagreeable smell of the inside of the jar, which smell it was found to have. This subject "when made to promise" that when awakened she would fancy herself another lady who was present, went to that lady as soon as she was awakened, and took her fancy work from her, and continued to do that work perfectly, although very difficult, and she had not learned to do such fancy work. On another occasion Elliotson induced one of his patients to believe herself mad when she awoke. When he awakened her she was quite out of her mind, and this state he found it very difficult to remove. When mesmerised next day she said she had actually been mad, and felt so still; and when awakened she had hysterical fits and melancholia. She was cured by making her promise, when mesmerised again, that she would forget that she had been mad. "Resistance" to Suggestion is

illustrated curiously by an incident that Elliotson relates. A lady in the sleep promised to whistle on entering the room next morning, but failed to do so. When she was put to sleep again she explained that she did not whistle because the butler was there. When awake she remembered neither the promise nor the reason for not executing it. Dr. Elliotson had a patient who was, in her normal state, hyper-sensitive to sounds ; he got her to promise that, when de-mesmerised, she would not hear them ; this happened as promised, and gave such relief that he remarks, "Here is a fact showing the important use to which the power of impressions in the mesmeric state can be applied." Thus Elliotson perceived the therapeutic importance of Suggestion which Braid could not see.

Esdaile.

James Esdaile pre-eminently deserves the title of "Great Mesmeriser," for no one else has approached him in the daring and successful use of Mesmerism to produce insensibility to pain in severe surgical operations. Esdaile was a young Scotch surgeon, born in 1808, who went to India at the age of 23 in the East India Company's service, and, a few years later, was appointed to the charge of a small hospital at Hooghly, a village 25 miles from Calcutta. While there he read Elliotson's Harvean Oration, and was much impressed by his declaration "that he would despise himself if he denied the truth of the mesmeric phenomena." In 1845 he experimented on a native convict under his charge, and then upon other surgical patients, and his success was so striking that Sir Herbert Maddox, the Governor of Bengal, appointed

a committee of seven (four of whom were medical men) to look into the matter. They attended nine operations, and reported that it was, in their opinion, "incumbent on Government to afford to their zealous and meritorious officer (Mr. Esdaile) such assistance as may facilitate his investigations." Accordingly a small hospital was opened by public subscription in Calcutta for Mr. Esdaile in November, 1846, under Government auspices, and "Visitors" were appointed by the Governor.* His success there was so great, and the Report of the Visitors so favourable, that Lord Dalhousie, the Governor-General, appointed him Presidency Surgeon,† and afterwards Naval Surgeon, and an Order in Council made it obligatory for all surgeons, after taking their degree in India, to take a two months' course of practical mesmerism under Mr. Esdaile. In all, Esdaile performed 261 operations under mesmerism, almost all of them of the severest kind, including 200 excisions of scrotal tumours, weighing from 10 to 103 pounds, an operation so

* Esdaile tells us that the Subscription Mesmeric Hospital was eventually closed in consequence of the Deputy Governor, Sir John Littler, making him Superintendent of one of the Government Hospitals, "for the express purpose of enabling me to introduce Mesmerism into regular hospital practice."

Some busybodies, in 1856, wrote to Lord Dalhousie to ask if he had authorised Mr. Esdaile to use his name in a pamphlet about Mesmerism in India. Lord Dalhousie replied:—"Mr. Esdaile was not authorised by me to use my name with reference to mesmerism; but at the same time I wish to add that all the statements in his pamphlet with which my name is connected are quite accurate—I appointed Mr. Esdaile in 1848 to be one of the Presidency Surgeons. I did this in acknowledgment of the service he had rendered to humanity by mitigating largely its sufferings within his own sphere, and in order that he might be able to continue his services at the capital."

† These appointments generally brought a fortune, but Esdaile neglected his practice to devote himself to mesmerism, and came back from India a poor man."

generally fatal that in most of the cases which he successfully treated no other surgeon would operate, and he never lost a patient in these cases.* In 1848 chloroform began to be employed in India, and was taken up warmly by the Faculty there, and in consequence the utility of mesmerism in surgical cases ceased to attract attention.

Esdaile retired from the Company's service in 1851, returned to Scotland, and settled near Perth, devoting himself to the recording of his mesmeric observations and experiences in India. He soon found Scotland too cold, after twenty years' sojourn in India, and came South, dying in Sydenham in January, 1859, aged 50. Mr. Esdaile did little actual mesmerising after he left India, for he had retired from surgical practice, and he had not *personally* operated mesmerically for many years; moreover, he thought that "only the depressing influence of disease will be found to reduce Europeans to the impressionable condition of the nervous system so common to Eastern nations." Esdaile thus graphically describes his first experience in mesmerism:—

"At the time of making my first experiment, I had never seen anyone mesmerised, nor read a mesmeric book, and had only conversed with one person who had witnessed the mesmeric phenomena. My informant, being a trustworthy gentleman, excited my curiosity, but as I could get no books on the subject, I determined to experiment for myself, leaving the *when* and the *how* undetermined. Accident decided this for me, and

* The deaths in scrotal tumour cases were five per cent. "But," says Esdaile, "it is an extraordinary circumstance that although 20 of these tumours were from 50 to 103 lbs., and many of the patients from 50 to 60 years of age, yet in no instance was death caused directly by the operation, but took place after many days or weeks." The deaths in the 61 other cases, all "capital" operations, were four in number.

under circumstances that precluded the possibility of mistake. On the 4th of April, 1845, a Hindoo of the lowest caste was brought to the hospital with a double hydrocele. The water was drawn off one side of the scrotum, and two drachms of the usual corrosive sublimate injection thrown in. On feeling the pain from the injection, the man threw his head over the back of the chair, and pressed his hands firmly upon his groins, making the grimaces of a person in pain. Seeing him suffering in this way, it occurred to me to attempt to mesmerise him; and turning to my native assistant, I asked him if he had ever seen a person mesmerised. He said that he had seen it attempted at the Calcutta Medical College, but without success. 'I have a great mind to try it on this man,' I said, 'but as I never saw it done, I shall probably not succeed.' Without a word said to the man, his eyes being still closed, I began to make passes from the crown of his head to the pit of his stomach without touching him. I continued this for half an hour, and then gave it up in despair, seeing no sensible effect. While resting myself (the thermometer was 85°) I desired the man to open his eyes, and he said he saw *smoke*. This aroused my attention, as I had heard of mesmeric haze. He shortly removed his hands from his groins, crossed his arms on his breast, and all signs of uneasiness disappeared. In half an hour more, he took no notice of my questions, and remained perfectly passive while I drove a pin into the small of his back. Latterly his back began to arch backwards, and he was now in a state of opisthotonos, the nape of his neck resting on the back of the chair, and his breech on the edge of the seat. Being now convinced that we had got something extraordinary, I went over to the adjacent court house, and begged the judge and the collector of the district to come to the hospital. We found him in the same position I had left him in, and no hallooing could attract his attention. Fire was applied to his knee without his shrinking in the least, and *liquor ammoniæ* that brought tears into our eyes in a moment, was inhaled by him for some minutes without causing an eyelid to quiver. I now bent his head forward, and placed his eyes in front of a mid-day Indian sun. On opening the eyelids, the pupils were seen to be dilated as if by belladonna, and *the light produced no effect whatever on the iris*. We were all now quite satisfied that total insensibility of all the senses existed, and left him. He awoke after three hours, and had no recollection of what had happened.

"From a careful survey of all the attending circumstances of the case, I felt confident—

1.—That it was morally and physically impossible that the man could be an impostor, inasmuch as he could not imitate what he had never heard of. But allowing that he had suppressed all expression of pain by a powerful effort of will, it was absurd to suppose that he could by any act of volition *control the movements of an involuntary organ like the iris.*

2.—That as the man could not possibly imagine what was expected, there could be no imagination at work in the matter.

3.—That there was no consent or mental sympathy between the parties ; and it has been seen that there was no suggestion.

4.—That it was not necessary for the patient's eyes to be open."

From this and other early cases, Esdaile drew four conclusions, namely :—

"1.—I was certain (if life is not a phantasmagoria) that in the mesmeric trance the muscles of the whole body had been as plastic and obedient to my command as clay in the hands of the potter ; and I felt satisfied that if the same state of things could be brought about, muscular spasms and contractions would disappear before the great solvent. The straightening of limbs long contracted soon verified this inference.

2.—Having in this case witnessed the total extinction of nervous irritability, I was led to conclude that in a like state of things, nervous pains would vanish before this supreme anodyne. The cure of nervous headaches immediately demonstrated the truth of this idea.

3.—The insensibility to pain convinced me that the most painful surgical operations might be performed without the knowledge of the patient, and this has been done to an extraordinary extent, so much so, as to be a daily matter of course.

4.—I had seen high local inflammation and sympathetic fever suspended during the trance in my first patient, and the artificial inflammation (which it was my object to excite for the cure of hydrocele) did not develop itself, and that the pulse and temperature had become natural ; hence, I inferred that inflammation was probably incompatible with such a state of the constitution, and I soon succeeded in curing acute inflammation of the eye and testes by no other means than the mesmeric trance."

In after years he stated his general conclusions as follows :—

"1.—That mesmerism is a natural power in the human body. ✓

2.—That it affects directly the nervous and muscular systems. ✓

3.—That in the mesmeric trance the most severe and protracted surgical operations can be performed without the patients being sensible of pain.

4.—That spasms and nervous pains disappear before the mesmeric trance.

5.—That it gives us complete command of the muscular system, and is, therefore, of great service in restoring contracted limbs.

6.—That the chronic administration of mesmerism often acts as a useful stimulant in functional debility of the nerves.

7.—That as sleep and the absence of all pain is the best condition of the system for subduing inflammation, the mesmeric trance will probably be found to be a powerful remedy in local inflammations.

8.—That the imagination has nothing to do with the first physical impressions made in the system by mesmerism, as practised by me.

9.—That it is not necessary for the eyes to be open; I always shut them as a source of distraction; and blind men are as readily mesmerised as others.

10.—That water can be charged with the mesmeric fluid, and has a powerful effect on the system when it has been previously affected.

11.—That the mesmeric influence can be transmitted through the air to considerable distances, and even pass through dense materials."

I do not think that the great importance of Esdaile's mesmeric experiences has ever been fully perceived. In one respect those experiences were unique, for he conquered his enemies, and brought mesmerism into the forefront of surgical, if not of medical practice. He occupied the extraordinary, almost unnatural, position of a mesmeriser who was treated not only with respect, but with honour by his fellow citizens and by the Government. It was only a section of his professional brethren that continued to oppose him, and that opposition appeared far more important than it was, because those who promoted it controlled some of the Indian medical periodicals

and schools. The Calcutta Medical College was Esdaile's greatest foe, and the Calcutta Medical Journal called his patients "a set of hardened and determined impostors." Esdaile laughs at this, and says that he has more operations to perform in a month than all the other hospitals in Calcutta put together have in years, so he supposes the Hindus find it *great fun* to come hundreds of miles to get capital operations performed on them, and when they go home persuade their friends to come and take a part in the joke; for he can imagine no other motive for the tremendous and wholesale imposture than the fun of mystifying the Faculty of Calcutta. His own experience evidently reminds him of Galileo, for he quotes Galileo's letter to Kepler; and he says that he felt like "a keeper of a madhouse whose patients have risen in rebellion and threatened to put him to death if he did not confess himself to be the only madman in the establishment." Before Esdaile left India, however, he was able to sing a song of triumph; and in "Natural and Mesmeric Clairvoyance" (1852) he says:—

"The daily press, with one or two exceptions, at first joined in the orthodox medical howl against me, having been misled and imposed upon by the reckless assertions and confident dogmatism of the professional part of the press. But the judgments of the lay editors were not permanently obscured by professional bigotry, jealousy, and wounded self-love; and, soon perceiving that they had been blind guides, they not only professed their conversions, but indignantly turned upon and punished their misleaders, and at the end of the year there was not a paper from Cape Cormorin to the Himalayas that did not wish mesmerism and me God-speed."

One other point in regard to which Esdaile differs from every other magnetiser since Mesmer, is

the originality and independence of his ideas and methods. He began, as we have seen, with very vague ideas of the "science", and his mind was not biased by preconceived theory or anticipation. He thus describes the method which he always followed:—

"Desire the patient to lie down and compose himself to sleep, taking care, if you wish to operate, that he does not know your intention; this object may be gained by saying that it is only a trial; for fear and expectation are destructive to the physical impression required. Bring the crown of the patient's head to the end of the bed, and seat yourself so as to be able to bring your face in contact with his, and to extend your hands to the pit of the stomach, when it is wished; make the room dark, enjoin quiet, and then, shutting your patient's eyes, begin to pass both your hands in the shape of claws, slowly, within an inch of the surface, from the back of the head to the pit of the stomach; dwelling for several minutes over the eyes, nose, and mouth, and then passing down each side of the neck, go downwards to the pit of the stomach, keeping your hands suspended there for some time. Repeat the process steadily for a quarter of an hour, breathing gently on the head and eyes all the time. The longitudinal passes may then be advantageously terminated by placing both hands gently but firmly on the pit of the stomach and sides. The perspiration and saliva seem also to aid the effects on the system. It is better not to test the patient's condition by speaking to him, but by gently trying if the cataleptic tendency exists in the arms. If the arms remain fixed in any position they are left in, and require some force to move them out of every new position, the process has been successful" (and the surgical operation may begin).

To de-mesmerise:—

"Blowing sharply in the eyes,* rubbing the eyelids and

*Of the effects of a current of cold air in restoring the subject to the normal state, a circumstance which also puzzled Braid, Esdaile says:—

"I cannot understand how it acts, unless it be by attacking the organic life of the nerves of the skin, and causing in consequence an instinctive flow of nervous fluid from the surcharged brain to the surface for its protection against the destructive effect of cold. This would de-mesmerise the brain by restoring the equilibrium of the nervous organisation."

He first noticed the effect of a current of air when

eyebrows, rapid reverse or transverse passes, sprinkling cold water on the face or chest, or exposing the surface of the body to a cold current of air, are the usual methods employed for de-mesmerising the brain; and when locally applied are equally efficacious for de-mesmerising cataleptic or rigid limbs. But it sometimes happens that all these means fail to waken the sleeper, and I know nothing for it but to leave him alone and let him sleep it out, which is always done without any bad consequences that I ever observed."

Esdaile soon found that it was impossible for him to do the actual mesmerising himself; and he made use of the attendants and servants at the hospitals for that purpose, and they soon became strong and skilful magnetisers. He says:—

"A Bengal coolie, or pariah, comes before me for the first time, and I see that he has a disease requiring a surgical operation. I never say a word to him, but desire my assistants to take him to another room and mesmerise him. They desire him to lie down, and shut his eyes, and try to sleep, as they pass their hands over the most sensitive part of the body, exhaling their breath upon the patient, and loading him with their sweat if he does not readily yield to the mesmeric influence. A few minutes of this will sometimes suffice, but more generally it takes hours, and relays of mesmerisers. The lads varied the routine, however, to suit their convenience. One preferred to place both his hands on the pit of the stomach from the beginning to the end of the process, breathing on the eyes and head all the time. Another placed one hand on the pit of the stomach at the beginning, and made passes slowly over the face with the other, changing hands when tired. A third would make passes from the stomach upwards to the head; and they seemed to succeed equally well—*provided they attended to the work*. A moderate degree of continued attention is indispensable. Otherwise the passes are mere mechanical movements without vitality, and the lads knew from experience that if they

performing an operation before a large number of medical men and others. The operating room was too small to hold all the visitors, and Esdaile had the patient placed in a verandah, where a current of air reached him; he was put to sleep again and again, but soon awoke each time. It struck Esdaile that it might be the air that awoke him; and he afterwards experimented and found that a current of air produces that effect.

did not work with a will they were losing their time. Whenever a new mesmeriser was wanted my assistants brought some healthy young man who was willing to learn the art, and in a week he became a skilful mesmeriser under their directions."

As Esdaile's use for Mesmerism was in most instances to produce insensibility for surgical operations, he naturally laid most stress on the production of the sleep, and the methods he uses may appear to some to have been coarse and material. However that may be, they succeeded perfectly. He simply gave his directions, and told his assistants to let him know when the patient was ready to be operated upon, which might be either a matter of minutes, or of days; but we do not read of failure to produce insensibility in any case, and in every case the result of the process was total and complete anæsthesia, a very different thing indeed from the "slight drowsiness" or "characteristic vibration of the eyelids" which hypnotists include in their "degrees of hypnosis." He does not seem to have taken any interest in mental methods of producing mesmeric phenomena; he explains their action thus:—

"The mental phenomena are likewise to be accounted for by the theory of physical effects of Mesmerism. Our nervous fluid not only flows in the direction desired by the will, but is also, as we may reasonably conjecture, stamped with our own individuality, and conveys both our physical and mental peculiarities along with it into the system of another. This natural, homogeneous, *thought-stamped* nervous fluid is transmitted to the mesmerised person's brain through the medium of his nerves; and the consequence is that the *thought-modified* nervous fluid of the active brain is both reflected and understood by the passive brain of the patient, exactly as the passive end of the electric telegraph records the impulses received from the active extremity of the battery; the difference being that the human battery *feels* as well as *reflects* the

impressions transmitted. . . . This theory will apply equally to the medical part of the subject, and exhibits how the mesmeriser can at pleasure equalise, augment, or torpify by an artificial plethora the nervous powers, and can thereby conquer disease, and take off the sting of pain."

He says however: "I wish it to be understood that I speak only of the physical and inferior mental phenomena, of the higher mental phenomena I have no knowledge; to produce them, mental sympathy will no doubt be indispensable." Elsewhere he says: "In subjecting my patients to the sanative influence of Mesmerism for bodily complaints, no mental *rapport* has ever been thought of." He did not perceive that the desire on his part to cure and do good, and on his patients' part to be cured, created the mental *rapport* which De Puységur and Deleuze considered sufficient to make the magnetic process effective. Moreover, he practised a form of Suggestion without knowing it, for he used to "bid" subjects to sleep who had been frequently mesmerised, and the command took effect at once. He says that this "spontaneous mesmeric condition" (as he regarded it) "differed in no particular from that induced by the direct application of the mesmeric influence." He severely criticised those who mislead a subject by false statements, and then say the whole thing is imagination, since they have "done nothing" and yet the subject has gone into a mesmeric state. This has been a favourite way of "disproving the existence of any outside influence or agent," ever since the days of the first French Commission, when in Dr. Franklin's garden the Commissioners told a boy who was an excellent subject that he would be taken to a magnetic tree, and instead conducted

him in succession to four trees that had not been magnetised, at each of which he got more and more into the mesmeric state; and similar experiments are accepted even still as proof that the hypnotic condition is always brought on solely by the subject's auto-suggestion.

Of those who say that Mesmerism is produced without an operator or "by doing nothing" Esdaile says:—

"The truth is that they were taught their favourite trick by the mesmerisers, who have not only declared that this can be done, but it is a *natural consequence* of their proceedings if carried to a certain extent. It is often very difficult and laborious to excite the mesmeric action in the constitution; but being once excited, a very slight recurrence to the original process will bring on the paroxysm in all its first intensity, and if the excitement of the nervous system is kept up by frequent mesmerising, it takes on an independent diseased action, obeying constitutional laws which we do not understand; we, in fact, have inoculated the system with a nervous disease which often acts spontaneously, especially on reference to the primary cause; and at this stage the *candid medical observer* steps in, and demands the applause of an admiring and confounded world for having done with 'nothing' what has cost his stupid mesmeric brother so much trouble to effect."

As a rule, however, Esdaile was anxious to avoid mental effects, because he thought they interfered with the physical effects which he wished to produce. He says:—

"Having been long familiar with the power of habit and expectation before Hypnotism or Electro-biology were heard of, every possible precaution was taken to exclude these sources of fallacy. But a dove-like simplicity seems to be considered the badge of all our tribe, and no *mesmerist* gets credit for having sufficient common sense to take the most common precautions in making his experiments."

In drawing conclusions from his experiences, he put aside everything that might be the result of habit or training:—

“All practical mesmerists know how the specific mesmeric symptoms become complicated with the effects of the imagination and unconscious volition when highly-sensitive subjects are frequently experimented upon. To guard against this source of fallacy, I shall only relate the results of first experiments made upon different subjects.”

It is quite possible that Esdaile would have considered most of the “excellent subjects” of our hypnotists in the light of unfortunates who are afflicted with a serious disease, for he regarded great susceptibility to Suggestion as a sign of the “mesmeric disease”:—

“Mesmerism, like all other powerful natural agents, is not only a remedy, but becomes a formidable disease when pushed too far, and deeply rooted in the constitution; and a knowledge of this is the key to a variety of anomalous phenomena—mesmeric in origin, but not produced by it at the time, and which give rise to absurd charges of imposture, delusions, &c., from persons totally ignorant of the subject. These are, in fact, the secondary or constitutional symptoms of the primary disease, mesmerism, which has contaminated the nervous system and predisposed it to take on the mesmeric action whenever it is deranged, especially by anything having reference to the process by which it was first developed in the system. In this respect Mesmerism very closely resembles Hysteria, which, however primarily induced, is apt to recur on the agitation of the body or mind, more particularly if it is in any way associated with the first disturbing cause; and they both correspond in each, being sometimes voluntarily producible. . . . To the experienced person, the springing up of the mesmeric phenomena, without the usual exciting cause, is a moral demonstration that the system has been previously revolutionised by mesmerism. The nervous centres having become morbidly sensitive by the action of this great nervous excitant, every shock to the nerves, especially if connected with Mesmerism, is exhibited in the shape of abnormal mesmeric symptoms.”

In Braid's Hypnotism Esdaile saw an example of the action of an abnormal exertion of a part of the organism on the general nervous system. He says:—

“The whole nervous system may be deranged by the exhaustion of a particular organ, as has lately been practised by Mr. Braid, of Manchester, who entrances his patients by making them gaze with a double inward squint at an object placed before their eyes.”

We shall see by and bye that Braid ended by abandoning the belief that the violent squint was necessary, and that he even operated on blind people; and it seems quite possible that he had heard of Esdaile's doings at Calcutta, and that he may have been influenced thereby. At all events Esdaile evidently regarded him as a fellow-mesmeriser. He merely remarks that Braid's method of producing the trance is a very old one, being that of the monks of Mount Athos, and of the faquirs of India.

Like Dr. Elliotson, and indeed like all other medical magnetisers and hypnotists, Esdaile in some places dwells on the harmlessness of Mesmerism, and on others on its dangerousness; both of them thought, as the early magnetisers did, that Magnetism should be used only in case of sickness, and that in any other instance its employment did harm. Writing in the “*Zoist*,” Dr. Elliotson said:—

“When persons enquire of me whether Mesmerism is not a dangerous thing, I always reply that I am happy to say it is. They look astonished, and I continue—because, if it were not dangerous, it would not be a real power in Nature. A non-entity, an unreal, though alleged, power of Nature can do no harm; but all real powers of Nature will work readily for evil if misapplied.”

In like manner Dr. Esdaile, in his “*Mesmerism in India*,” says:—

“People say to me, ‘I should like to ascertain if I can be mesmerised; do try.’ I reply, ‘You very probably cannot; and I should as soon comply with your desire to feel the effects of opium as mesmerise you without a cause; when you need it you

will probably be benefitted by it.' If Mesmerism be forced upon a person in a state of health it is very likely to do mischief; for any attempt to be better than 'well' is pretty sure to make one ill."*

Esdaile, like all other medical magnetisers, is very severe on his own brethren for their treatment of Mesmerism. He says that at first he was disposed to make his experiences known only to members of the Faculty, but that he found that they were either hostile or indifferent, and so he determined to make them known to laymen also, who showed a much more intelligent interest in them; although he believed that Mesmerism is a subject that belongs, properly speaking, to the doctors. He said:—

"The public are too apt to consider the subject of Mesmerism as a professional one, and not to take the necessary means to become acquainted with it till the doctors shall have decided what is to be believed about it. This is an error on the part of the public, for, I am sorry to say, medical men as yet know nothing about it; and there is nothing in their previous knowledge, however great and varied, that bears upon the subject, or can entitle them to decide *ex cathedra* on the truth or falsehood of the new discovery. As the question at present stands, it is one of facts, and of evidence in support of them, of which a jury of sensible unprofessional men can judge as well as so many doctors, to whom the subject is equally new and perplexing. When the doctors have experimented for themselves, or taken

* These warnings are no doubt justified, but they apply equally to the processes of cure employed by medical men; and Sandby, who was a clerical mesmerist, turns the tables in an amusing way on the doctors when he says:—

"When we remember that such tremendous poisons as prussic acid and arsenic are among the favourite remedies of the modern school; that our lives are at the mercy of an incautious physician in the very act of prescribing; that an error in weight of the deadly ingredient may alter the whole character of the compound; that a careless chemist may convert the most judicious prescription into a draught of death; that a sleepy nurse may administer the wrong medicine—who can think of these and similar contingencies and not tremble when he sees the physician with a pen in his hand?"

the trouble to witness the practise of others, and carefully studied the subject, the public cannot do better than take them for their guides."

His conception of the true function of the physician resembled Mesmer's:—

"The whole art of the true physician is exerted to induce Nature to interfere and take up the case of his patient; and, when he sees signs of her gracious presence, he only reverently looks on and confines himself to removing impediments in her way. But the routine practitioner will rarely condescend to divide with Nature the merit of the cure. He and his pills, powders, and potions must have all the credit; and if anyone pretends to be able sometimes to cure disease by the unassisted powers of Nature he is called a quack, impostor, or fool, and hunted down as a *fera naturæ*. But, in my estimation, the genuine medical quack is he who, professing to cure disease, yet allows his patients to suffer and perish by ignorantly, or presumptuously, despising any promising or possible means of relief."

Esdaile condemns the absurdity of making insensibility to pain the only test of the reality of Mesmerism. He says that doctors have heard of mesmeric coma, and, knowing nothing of Mesmerism, imagine it to be always present, and are ignorant of any other criterion, for *the doctors do not know Mesmerism when they see it*. He says:—

"I am anxious that the public should know what Mesmerism really is, in order that they may know it when it comes before them, and be no longer deluded by ignorant and interested quasi-descriptions of it. . . . The involuntary quivering of the eyelids and the spasmodic closing of the eye in persons a minute before wide awake, and resisting perhaps; the extinction of one or more of the organs of sense, which we saw in full activity but a moment ago; the eye turned up so that only the white can be seen, or staring wide open, fixed, and insensible to light; sleep-walking, delirium, convulsions, catalepsy, in persons not subject to those affections till they were subjected to the mesmeric process—is not any one of these induced symptoms as clearly the effect of some constraining influence as the production of insensibility?"

He says:—

“If medical men wish to see and understand the effects of Mesmerism on the body, the natural and rational mode of proceeding is to attempt to develop them in the persons of their own patients; and, if they will take a tithe of the trouble I have been at, I can promise them very general success. The finest as well as the most striking phenomena will then be equally diagnostic to their practised eyes, and their understandings will be left clear and free to study and imitate the curative processes of Nature, undisturbed by doubts and suspicions regarding the powers of observation and the honesty of others.”

Again:—

“It is by medical men in the country taking up the subject experimentally, without previous knowledge of it, and having no theories to make good or defend, that the truth or falsehood of Mesmerism may be very speedily decided.”

And again:—

“Instead of sneering and dogmatising about Mesmerism, I would earnestly entreat my medical brethren to put it to the test of personal experiment; for it is a thing to be done, and not talked of merely.”

He encourages his professional brethren thus:—

“I have never seen, nor have any of my acquaintance ever seen, any bad effect accompany or follow operations performed during the magnetic sleep, of which the influence is essentially strengthening instead of being depressing. It fortifies the patient for the operation, secures him from pain during its performance, and facilitates his recovery, inasmuch as it admits of the wound being dressed without pain. It is the best and most prompt sedative when he suffers from local pains, for the system becomes very sensitive during convalescence from serious operations, and a few ‘passes’ often act in a more speedy and efficacious manner in procuring sleep and alleviating pain than the most powerful narcotics.”

To surgeons he says:—

“In surgery, the benefits of Mesmerism are not confined to the extinction of pain during an operation, but are of the greatest general and particular advantage in the after treatment of surgical diseases.”

Again:—

“A vital agent which is capable of reducing a living man temporarily to the insensibility of a corpse, and without

subsequent injury to the system, it is evident that such an influence possesses the essential conditions of a curative agent in the highest degree—the *power of safety in its application*.”

He says of Mesmerism, when it can be introduced in the treatment of medical cases :—

“It is extremely important in instantly extinguishing nervous pains, arresting convulsions, and aiding the natural resolution of inflammation by its anodyne and restorative powers; and, if it could be induced in the commencement of some of the most fatal diseases, it would probably arrest their progress, for it revolutionises the whole system, and every other constitutional affection is for the time suspended. In chronic inflammation it is a useful discutient, gently stimulating the nerves and capillary vessels of the part to more healthy action, and for this purpose local Mesmerism only is required. The chronic exhibition of Mesmerism, as a general tonic in diseases of debility, promises to be of great service, especially in functional derangement of the nervous system, and I am hopeful that we have at last got a direct nervous remedy, hitherto a desideratum in Medicine.”

Of the sleep he writes :—

“Mesmeric sleep simulates perfectly sound natural sleep, and is more refreshing even if it has been resorted to for soothing pain or disturbance of the system, and can be had recourse to when it would be improper or useless to administer common narcotics, over which it has the advantage of not inducing a disagreeable constitutional derangement after the specific influence has ceased. The restorative power of mesmeric sleep seems to depend upon an animal infusion of nervous vigour into the body, and when induced is a remedial agent; this may account for its superiority over common sleep.”

Of the good effect of Mesmerism, when no sleep or coma is produced, Esdaile says :—

“The refreshment from sleep, often not otherwise to be procured, and the sedative influence of the trance would alone constitute Mesmerism a valuable medical agent. But it is from its power of *stimulating the nervous system* that a patient often draws the greatest benefit when all other remedies have failed, and to procure this effect neither sleep nor coma is usually necessary. The following cases will illustrate this double action of Mesmerism :—

“Hunga, a Hindoo lad, aged eighteen, came to the hospital with the wrist of the right arm much enlarged and excessively

tender; he cannot bear the least pressure on it. The entire hand, back and palm is so swollen (œdematous) that the bone cannot be felt, and there is not the *slightest power of motion* in the wrists and joints of the fingers. He has been leeches, blistered, etc., during the last six weeks at the Native Hospital, and without the least benefit. The part was ordered to be mesmerised for an hour daily. After three or four days the swelling of the hand began to decrease, the wrist became daily less tender, and at the end of six weeks he was dismissed cured, with the hand as fine as the other, and the motion of all the joints quite free—no other means having been used.”

In the following case, in which likewise no sleep was produced, the symptoms remind one of Mesmer’s cure of Major Du Hussay. The first entry reads:—

“July 2nd, 1847.—Moteelall Koonwur, a writer, aged 38, residing at Taltullah, in Calcutta, reports that on the 29th of April last, while taking his meal, he suddenly fell down in a fit, and lay insensible for two days. On the third day he was partially restored to his senses by general bleeding and leeching; since that, his body, except the right arm, the right side of the breast, and the left cheek, has become partially paralysed, and subject to a peculiar pricking sensation, which increases much in the evening and prevents him sleeping at night. He has been suffering from spasms in the hands; and the right cheek is so devoid of feeling that he does not consider it a part of his body. He feels and walks like an intoxicated person, and sees double. He cannot stir a foot without his tall staff.”

He gradually and slowly improved; no remedy but Mesmerism being used, and the last reads:—

“August 31st.—His vision is perfect, the pricking is gone, and he has returned to his duty.”

Of mesmerised water Esdaile says:—

“From multiplied experiments in six different hospitals, I should as soon doubt the power of fresh water to quench thirst as that of mesmerised water to induce sleep in persons who have already felt the mesmeric influence. When the sores of patients became foul, and the application of nitric acid became desirable, they often had a dose of mesmerised water as the speediest way of entrancing them, and their sores were then steeped in acid without a sign of sensibility. What more can I say? ”

He adds in a footnote:—

“Here also it will be said that smell and taste, suggestion and imagination, and no extraneous influence, produced the result. I repeat that the only experiments on which I rely were first trials; they were made at intervals of months and years, in six different hospitals; and my test experiments were thus conducted:—The mesmerised water was medicated with tincture of rhubarb, tincture of cardamons, aromatic spirits of ammonia, etc., and given to the patients at their usual time for taking physic, so that it was impossible to excite suspicion or expectation of anything unusual in them. The result was that a large proportion of susceptible subjects were so profoundly entranced on the first occasion that they might have been operated upon without pain, and as said in the text, their unhealthy sores were frequently burned with undiluted nitric acid without their feeling it when sleeping from the effects of mesmerised water. What more effectual precautions could be taken by those who deny any external influence I cannot in my simplicity imagine. And so in regard to mesmerising persons in another room while the attention was actually engaged; no possible precaution was omitted to prevent them from suspecting my intentions.”

Although Esdaile does not apparently attach much importance to his experiences with the insane, his success was very remarkable:—

“I having expressed my desire to the gentlemen comprising the committee of management of the Subscription Mesmeric Hospital to try the effect of Mesmerism upon the insane, they very liberally gave me funds to pay mesmerisers for six months, and Dr. Strong, Physician to the Calcutta Lunatic Asylum, very kindly permitted me to experiment on his patients. Being familiar with the soothing and strengthening effects of Mesmerism upon the debilitated and irritable nervous system of the sane, and believing that insanity, in general, originates in debility or functional derangement of the brain, I expected to find Mesmerism of benefit in the treatment of madness, like everything else that restores tone and regularity to the nervous system. But unfortunately the asylum here only contains the most unfavourable and disheartening subjects to work upon; the inmates being poor, friendless wretches, pulled up by the police on the highways, or confined by order of the magistrates for offences committed in paroxysms of madness.”

As there was seldom any history of these cases, Esdaile could only guess at the cause or duration of the disease, and had very little expectation of any appreciable result. The patients were taken in the order of their names on the Register, only very old, palpably idiotic inmates being left out. In order to eliminate the chance that a lucid interval was the commencement of a spontaneous cure, or a cure effected by other means, the patients were mesmerised in the first instance when *actually insane*. At the end of six months the results were:—

Cured apparently	...	...	...	...	8
Cured and relapsed	...	...	...	...	1
No change	...	...	...	...	18
Died	...	...	...	...	1
Under treatment (much improved)	...	...	...	...	9
					—
					37

He makes the following very interesting remarks about these cases:—

“As I anticipated, we found the insane as readily affected as the sane; many of the patients being thrown into the trance, although this was not desired, it not being thought necessary. Several of the men dated their recovery from a certain day, saying that after they awakened on such a day they felt their ‘heads lightened,’ or their ‘hearts opened,’ and their appearance and conduct corresponded with the statement.”

Dr. Kean, of Moorshedabad Insane Asylum, Esdaile’s friend, was more successful with lunatics. He tried Mesmerism on a blind man, and put him to sleep in half an hour; this so impressed him with the power of Animal Magnetism that he introduced it into his practice with the lunatics under his care, and from that time had no more trouble with them. The hospital attendants and guards were his operators. In the Lunatic Asylum of Berampore

Dr. Kean treated seventy-four patients by Mesmerism during the years 1847 and 1848, and discharged sixty-four cured. It is probable that Dr. Kean also used what would now be called Suggestion, for the "Calcutta Register of Medical Science," in reporting these cases, remarks that *the promise* to do anything when mesmerised is carried out afterwards in the waking state, the subject feeling "an instinctive craving" to do it, not knowing why. Esdaile says of him:—

"Dr. Kean, of Berhampore, has for several years used Mesmerism very extensively in his large Lunatic Asylum with excellent curative effects, and finds it of great service in maintaining the quiet and discipline of his hospital. If this is not enough to give the *coup de grâce* to the theory of suggestion and imagination as explanatory of the results obtained in my practise of Mesmerism, I will adduce instances of people being entranced from another room without their having the least suspicion of my intentions, and of a blind man being reduced on the first attempt to the most intense degree of mesmeric coma."*

What probably saved Esdaile from growing narrow, and perhaps becoming hardened into the head of a School, was that as soon as he had satisfied himself that Mesmerism was a great reality he sent for all the books he could hear of that treated of the subject, most of which at that time were written in French or German; and it is the fact that he was well informed as to what others had done that gives a weight to his opinions that is

* In 1852 Dr. Davey introduced Mesmerism into Colney Hatch Lunatic Asylum and cured three lunatics. This came to the ears of the editor of the "Medical Times," who called for the dismissal of Dr. Davey, and the authorities obeyed. As the "Medical Times" for March 20th, 1852, put it:—"The profession will be gratified to hear that our remonstrances were not ineffectual, and that the Middlesex Magistrates have proved themselves not unworthy of the trust reposed in them."

wanting in the case of those who ignore or deny any experiences but those which agree with their own—the besetting sin of the modern Hypnotist. He says:—

“I now know (and I deplore my long ignorance) that the battle was fought and won before I was born by the truthful and benevolent Puységur, Deleuze, and their companions, and that I, under the tropics, am only again demonstrating what they on the banks of the Seine had long ago established. The people on the continent have been familiar with both the good and the evil of Mesmerism for the last thirty years, while we in England are only now giving an unwilling ear to the expounders of a law of Nature which is as much a part of the human constitution as the processes of thought and digestion. It is to be hoped that on this subject our neighbours will no longer have reason to reproach our insular ignorance and presumption.”

He was astonished at the “presumption” of those who, without experiment or enquiry, denied that which he believed to be so well authenticated, and which they, as he had done, could with ease personally prove to be facts. He wrote:—

“The reporters of the facts in question are, for the most part, men whose intellectual attainments in general are known to have been of a superior order, and whose moral character is elevated far above suspicion; men, in short, far more honourable and trustworthy than their wretched, chiefly anonymous calumniators.* They will be found to be chiefly eminent physicians,

* Esdaile culled what he calls “a bouquet” from the medical journals of his day; here are a couple of the flowers, for samples:—

“Mesmerism is too gross a humbug to admit of any further serious notice. We regard its abettors as quacks and impostors. They ought to be hooted out of professional society. Any practitioner who sends a patient afflicted with any disease to consult a mesmeric quack ought to be without patients for the rest of his days.”—“Lancet,” October 29th, 1842.

“The mesmero-mania has nearly dwindled in the metropolis into anile fatuity; but lingers in some of the provinces with the gobe-mouches and chaw-bacons, who, after gulping down a pound of fat pork, would with well-greased gullets swallow such a lot of mesmeric mummary as would choke an alligator or a boa-constrictor.”—“Med.-Chir. Review,” 1843.

such as Hufeland, physician to the king of Prussia; Steiglitz, physician to the king of Hanover; Brandis, physician to the king of Denmark; Klein, physician to the king of Wirtemberg; Wienholt; Olbers, the Astronomer; Gmelin; Heineken; Bockman; Baehrens; Ennemmoser; Sprengel, author of a history of Medicine, and other learned works; Haindorf; Nolte; Spindler; Nasse; Nees von Esenbeck; Passevant; Zierman; Heinroth; Leupoldt, &c. — Physiologists, such as Reil; Trevarinus; Autenrieth; Humboldt; Burdach; Eschenamayer; Kiezer, &c.—Naturalists, such as La Place; Cuvier; Oken.—Philosophers, such as Fichte; Schelling; Steffens; Baader; Hegel, &c.—Theologians, such as Schleiermacher; Mayer, &c. To these might be added a vast number of men of general science and celebrated literary characters. But it has been alleged that the evidence of these enlightened individuals is liable to discredit because, forsooth, they were engaged in investigating the phenomena of Animal Magnetism. Assuredly, this is a strange, and, we must take the liberty of saying, most preposterous objection. Pray, how are the facts of Nature to be discovered and appreciated unless by those who take an interest in investigating them?"

Esdaile, however, was too thoroughly grounded in his own experiences at first ever to rest his opinions on the authority of others, and what he gives us are his own experiences, and his own deductions from them. His experiences forced him to adopt the fluid theory as the only possible explanation of the effects produced by his method; but he did not investigate the psychic, and what might perhaps be called the *cosmic* aspects of Animal Magnetism. He did not deny the power of mind, or the purely psychic method, to cure disease; but, as he did not employ it, he does not theorise about it. He was a Hypnotist, if we use that name as a general term, but he was a specialist in Mesmerism, just as Liébeault and Bernheim are specialists in Suggestion; but his specialism differed in kind from that of our modern hypnotists, in that he did not think that what he did not know is not worth

knowing. It is impossible to read any of his writings and not feel that he is transparently honest and straightforward, and that he therefore expects what he says to be believed. He tells us that what he relates "may be taken as correct, otherwise healthy senses, a plain, direct understanding, careful observation, long experience, and every precaution against deception are so many snares, and one might as well be a polypus as a human being." He says:—

"When one person is made the exclusive object of another's attention for a certain length of time, surprising effects have ensued, which are now called the *mesmeric phenomena*. I can only imagine this to be the effect of an *active* upon a *passive* nervous system; the passive nerves and brain being invaded and occupied by the active, will-impelled nervous fluid of the agent."

Again:—

"From all I have seen, I cannot but believe that there is an influence of some kind that passes from one person to another, when one of the two is mesmerised in the way I have described; that, in fact, there is a virtual transfusion of some vital agent from one body to the other."

Of this vital or nervous energy, he says:—

"The mesmeriser can not only saturate the system of the patient, generally, with his own nervous fluid, but when his patient becomes very considerably under his influence can induce local determinations of the nervous energy to various parts, so as to place them, for the time, beyond the patient's volition, even while he retains his general consciousness. This will perhaps explain the phenomenon of local rigidity, and the insensibility of individual members of the body when the rest of the system is unaffected."

Like a great many magnetisers of every epoch, Esdaile was inclined to adopt an electrical explanation of the phenomena. He said:—

"In the actual state of science, we are entitled to say that a continual electro-magnetic action is going on in our organs by the contact of the arterial blood with its containing tissues—by

its transfusion into venous blood which returns again to the lungs to combine with the oxygen of the air. We know that two different substances cannot come into contact without electricity being evolved, and that all chemical actions, whether analysis or synthesis, set at liberty a certain portion of electric fluid. . . . If the electric fish can secrete electricity, and project it *in the direction desired by its will*, why should not men possess a modification of the same power?"

At all events he discards both imagination and fascination as inadequate to explain the effects produced by his method:—

"From the circumstances attending my first case, all my subsequent proceedings were determined by the conviction that the mesmeric influence, as it came under my observation, was a physical power, exerted by one animal over another, in certain circumstances and conditions of their respective systems; and I should as soon adopt the *diabolical* theory as a satisfactory solution of the problem, as attempt to account by the action of the imagination for what I have seen and done. It has been related that *all my patients were mesmerised with their eyes closed, lying in bed, in a dark room*, and that it was considered desirable that the patient should be totally ignorant of what was intended to be done; and I even stipulated with the mesmeric committee that the patients brought before them should be kept in as profound ignorance of our intentions as possible."*

Esdaile seems not to have had any of that kind of curiosity which prompts some eminent physio-

* In 1840 Dr. Despine, at Orleans, and in 1843 Dr. Charpignon, at Aix-les-Bains, occupied themselves with experiments to test the theory that all the magnetic phenomena were due to imagination, or, as would now be said, to Suggestion. The experiments of Despine proved that different metals affect subjects in the hypnotic state differently, and some of his sensitives without any knowledge of electricity, arranged the metals in their electro-positive and negative order, with gold at the extreme negative, and zinc at the extreme positive, and the other metals in their true order between (as was also done afterwards by Reichenbach's sensitives). Dr. Charpignon proved that somnambules could with ease distinguish magnetised water among a number of other and apparently exactly similar samples. Both of these investigators were men of science, accustomed to exact experiments, and who took every precaution against deception and self-deception.

logists to run red hot needles into monkeys' brains to see what they will do, and other eminent physiologists to cut down upon guinea-pigs' hearts to see how soon they will stop beating, and who call that kind of thing "science"; but he was not devoid of curiosity of a more philosophical kind; and he quotes, with approval, Lord Bacon's opinion:—

"The men who have looked deeply into the hidden nature of things, the transmissions from one body to another, and the magnetic forces, have agreed that the human mind can be placed in communication with other minds, and transmit them impressions."

But he was too busy, and had too high an opinion of the importance of Mesmerism to mankind as a healing agent, to pursue the subject as a great discovery needing scientific investigation. He says:—

"As I never have attempted, and never will attempt to Mesmerise people in health, I cannot speak from my own experience as to their mesmeric sensibility."

And again:—

"The practical rule is, never to mesmerise anyone except for medical purposes, and not to do more than is necessary for the cure of disease. If this is acted up to, I am not aware that Mesmerism has any dangers whatever."

Of the dangers of Mesmerism Esdaile says comparative little for a medical man; for we generally find a whole chapter on "The Dangers of Hypnotism or Mesmerism" in the works on the subject by medical men, a chapter which is apparently intended to act as a sign-board to warn off lay trespassers on their domain.* Of one possible accident, he says:—

*That Mesmerism can be made dangerous intentionally, or can become dangerous through gross ignorance is indubitable; but it is a wholly unwarrantable assumption that the medical man is endowed with any special virtue which enables him to avoid dangers which a layman who is equally well informed

"Sometimes it happens that the subjects on being awakened open their eyes, and at the same moment recover all their faculties; but it is seen that the pupil is insensible to light; this they also become aware of; they know that their eyes are open, and that they ought to see, but do not. The thought fills them with horror, and with a fearful cry, they bury their faces in their hands, like persons struck blind by lightning; but this soon passes off, and the retina recovers its sensibility by a little rubbing of the eye."

The danger here lies in the shock to the patient, which Esdaile considered the real inconvenience of this accident, and mesmerised subjects are liable to shock in other ways. The danger of shock, together with that of the "mesmeric disease" or falling spontaneously into the mesmeric state, are the only dangers which he seems to have recognised. Although Esdaile used "gazing," finding it to have a powerful mesmeric effect, this was neither the "fascination" of the modern hypnotist, nor the "fixing" of the eye of other mesmerists, *for the subject did not return his gaze*. He tried a great many experiments to find out at what distance the passes and gazing would affect his subjects. He found marked effects up to a distance of 90 or 100 feet in the case of the passes; but he does not seem

about hypnotism would incur. Yet that is the assumption of all the medical hypnotists, for their warnings about the dangers of Mesmerism or Hypnotism are as a rule not intended to prevent people from being mesmerised or hypnotised, but only from being operated upon by anyone but a doctor. Dr. Kingsbury enquired of a number of medical authorities on Hypnotism whether they considered it dangerous: Bernheim replied: "I have never seen any harm produced by sleep induced according to our method." Heidenhain said "Hypnotism is harmless, but may do much good." Krafft-Ebing, Moll, de Jong, Van Renterghem, Van Eeden, Voisin, said the same; Lloyd Tuckey said that it did no harm if practised by medical men (that is to say if practised by any man of a class of men who as a rule are profoundly ignorant of it, don't believe in it, and have no special aptitude for it).

to think that gazing acts so well at such long distances; he, however, was shortsighted, which may have made some difference. He says: "The experiments have been so numerous and unexceptionable, that I must consider the transmission of the mesmeric fluid through a large body of air to be incontestably proved." He believed that since air is permeable, the permeability of walls and other substances is to be expected. "In coming to this conclusion," he again says, "I rely on *first trials*." One of his experiments, for example, was with Janoo, a prisoner who had a cataract in each eye, and could barely distinguish light from darkness. He mesmerised Janoo in ten minutes, he not understanding what was being done.

Next day he mesmerised him through a window while he was eating his dinner, suspecting nothing. On the following day he got Janoo to lie down with his face to the wall, and employed one of his assistants to engage him in conversation while he went to the other side of the wall and mesmerised him through it. After two ineffectual trials of a few minutes each, Janoo, who suspected nothing, fell into the mesmeric sleep. After this he mesmerised him in five minutes at a distance of thirty yards. By that time Janoo had become sufficiently accustomed to the influence of Mesmerism to be tried with mesmerised water, and Esdaile sent some of it to him by the attendant who usually took him medicine, and who gave it to him as if it were an ordinary dose. In two minutes he was deeply entranced. A peculiarity of Mesmerism in Janoo's case was that when the effect was produced he fell

down suddenly, as if shot. Esdaile tried experiments to find out whether the "fluid" would affect material substances; for instance, whether it could be deposited upon them, as many magnetisers thought it could. He found that he could in this way paralyse subjects who had no knowledge of what he had done; for example:—

"I have requested visitors at the hospital to choose any tile in the floor upon which they wished a patient, who was out of doors at the time, to be fixed. I then pressed my hand upon the selected square tile and breathed upon it, leaving my visitors to catch their man in their own way; and they had generally to send for me to relieve the man from the trap."

Esdaile was not a little surprised to find that Mesmerism, although new to the mass of the people of India, was known to, and practised by, their "holy men," by whom it was intimately associated with religion. He says:—

"Dr. Davidson, late resident at Jeypore in Upper India, visiting the mesmeric hospital in Calcutta, and seeing the native mesmerisers stroking and breathing upon the patients, said, 'I now understand what the Jar-phoonk of Upper India is; it is nothing but Mesmerism.' Being requested to explain himself, he continued, 'Many of my people, after I had tried to cure them of their different complaints in vain, used to ask leave of absence for several weeks, in order to be treated by the Jadoo-walla, and to my great surprise they often returned to me quite cured in a short time; and in reply to my enquiries as to how they had been treated, they all said that they had gone through a process called Jar-phoonk; the meaning of which I could never make out. But I see it now before me, in the continuous stroking and breathing of your mesmerisers. *Jarna* means to stroke in Hindoostanee, and *phoonkna* to breathe, which very exactly describes your mesmeric process.'"

Esdaile also quotes from the "Zoist" the curious experience of Colonel Bagnold, with which my notice of this great mesmeriser must end:—

"A poor young Hindoo female had fallen into a miserable state of health, the effects of great privation during the previous

great famine, was epileptic, and subject to occasional fits of insanity. A 'vergraggey'—mendicant devotee—offered to undertake her cure by performing a religious ceremony, or 'mundur'; and as the family lived in the same building with me and my military detachment, and had no objection to my being present, I attended. The man commenced with the usual Hindoo offerings, such as burning frankincense, breaking a cocoa-nut, and invoking some god, particularly Seetaram, and then seated the woman on the ground with her back and head against the wall, and took from his long matted hair a string of large sandal-wood beads, which he held up before her eyes and directed her to look at; then made passes with it from her head downwards, occasionally stopping to breathe upon or lay his hands upon her chest. She soon became drowsy, and appeared to sleep, when a handful of wood ashes were called for, waved over her head, thrown in the air, and the charm was pronounced complete. He then retired to a little distance and sat counting his beads, but with his eyes attentively fixed on her, and muttering as if in prayer. In about half an hour he started up, snapped his fingers, called out loudly 'Seetaram!' which was loudly responded to by the Hindoos present, took his patient by the hand and told her to go about her family work. To the astonishment of her family, and all present, she obeyed, walked direct to the hand-mill and began grinding corn for the evening meal—a work I am certain she had been incapable of performing for months. Looking upon this as mere priestly deceptions, I declined being present at any future visits. However, her mother, her brother, and several men of the detachment assured me afterwards that the man not only put her asleep whenever he came, but made her speak during that sleep, described her disease, and what would cure it. I laughed at the poor people as fools, and abused the man as a knave. But his mild, good-humoured rebuke is often now present to my mind. 'Youth, the hair on your chin is incomplete; by the time it is like mine you will think differently of me.' The woman recovered, and rapidly."

With Esdaile, pure Mesmerism of the school of de Puységur, as modified by Dupotet and Lafontaine, may be said to have reached its culminating point. Although there have been since that epoch, and still are (especially in France), able magnetisers, Magnetism (or Mesmerism as we call it) has been

only a sect in Psycho-physics, owing to the refusal of the magnetisers to incorporate into their science the newer methods and ideas of the modern hypnotisers. Already in Esdaile's time several other forms of Animal Magnetism were in the field, which seemed to throw doubt on the older theories by introducing novel methods which gave rise to new and puzzling phenomena. Among these new methods were those of Braid, Fahnestock and Sunderland, all of which are more nearly allied to Animal Magnetism than to Modern Hypnotism, and these systems I shall now proceed to describe, Electro-biology distinctly belongs also to the same group although it is now acknowledged by hypnotists themselves to have been the immediate progenitor of Modern Hypnotism.

Braid's Hypnotism.

We owe most of our knowledge of Braid's Hypnotism to his "Neurypnology," published in 1843, the substance of which took at first the form of an essay, which was read at a private meeting of some of the members of the British Association for the Advancement of Science. Braid had proposed to read that essay before the Medical Section of that Association, offering to bring several of his patients for inspection, "so that gentlemen of scientific attainments might thus have an opportunity of investigating the subject, unbiassed by local or personal prejudice." That learned body, however, refused to hear the essay on Hypnotism, and listened in preference to a paper "On the Palpi of Spiders," which was intended to prevent the further

occurrence "of the too common error of mistaking young spiders for old ones."* Braid also published several much smaller works on the subject, chiefly controversial, and many of his ideas and experiences are recorded only in medical and other periodicals; but Mr. A. E. Waite has been at pains to collect and examine all Braid's known writings; and his edition of "Neurypnology," published by Redway in 1899, puts us in possession of an account of "Braidism," which is specially valuable on account of the Editor's very full and able "Biographical Introduction," and his interesting "Appendices."

James Braid was a respectable surgeon, in fair practice in Manchester. He was an orthodox Christian, and believed in a personal Devil, with whom some of the clergy unkindly accused him of having dealings. Colquhoun, on the other hand, calls him a materialist; but that is because he refused to believe in clairvoyance; for, as Mr. Waite says:—

"He was a blunt man, without any intellectual subtlety, and no gift for metaphysics, and he did what most plain-thinking men would have done with him in those days, and perhaps not a few even now; he jumped to the conclusion that to see through opaque bodies was a gift only possible to Omnipotence, and he, therefore, regarded the pretension as a 'mockery of the human understanding.'"

His lack of "intellectual subtlety" no doubt is a guarantee of his sincerity, but it has caused confusions and apparent contradictions in some of his writings which have given rise to considerable differences of opinion about the real nature of

* Sandby tells us that soon afterwards (in 1845) the Medical Section became such a scandal that it was proposed to abolish it, but this was compromised by changing its name to "Physiological Section."

his "discovery." On this point Mr. Waite says:—

"Possibly his position was clear in his own mind, but he was incapable of expressing himself lucidly over any subject. The erroneous appreciations of his position in respect to Animal Magnetism, which have appeared from time to time, are largely the direct consequence of his uncertain and confused mode of writing."

The celebrated magnetiser, Lafontaine, of whom I have written, happening in 1841 to give demonstrations at Manchester, Braid had the curiosity to attend one of them, although he had already made up his mind that Animal Magnetism was a "system of collusion or illusion, or of excited imagination, sympathy, or imitation," and had "therefore abandoned the subject as unworthy of farther investigation." It is curious, as showing the different temper of our day from that of sixty years ago; that imagination, sympathy, and imitation, things which are now the subject of profound scientific research, were considered by Braid as unworthy of investigation; and no less strange must it seem to us now that he had come to his "conclusion" that Animal Magnetism was all nonsense from reading a correspondence in the Medical Gazette, and without ever having seen a single experiment in it. The phenomena produced by Lafontaine were causing a great deal of curiosity at Manchester, and Braid, at the "conversazione" which he attended, saw "one fact, the inability of the patient to open his eyes," which "arrested his attention." He thought that this phenomenon was genuine, and he attributed it to a paralysis of the elevator muscles of the eyelids, due to prolonged gazing. On his return home, to test his theory, he caused first a young friend, then

his wife, and then a man-servant, to stare fixedly at the cork of a bottle, without letting them know his real object; and in a few minutes sleep occurred in every case. It seems clear enough that what happened in this whole transaction was this: Braid saw that Lafontaine made his subjects stare at something while they were going to sleep, Braid made his subjects stare similarly, and they, too, went to sleep; Lafontaine explained the fact of their going to sleep by the action on them of a magnetic fluid proceeding from himself; Braid attributed it to an effect on the brain caused by some unusual action set up in the optic nerve. The facts were the same, but the explanations were different, and to this day there is a difference of opinion as to whether Mesmerism and Hypnotism employ different agencies or not. Braid himself does not seem ever to have made up his mind about it; and neither do his opponents, the Mesmerisers. For instance, Braid wrote in one of his later pamphlets:—

“For a considerable time I was of opinion that the phenomena induced by my mode of operating and that of the Mesmerisers were identical; and so far as I have yet personally seen, I still consider the condition of the nervous system induced by both modes to be at least analogous. . . . However, from what the mesmerisers state as to effects which they can produce in certain cases, there seems to be differences sufficient to warrant the conclusion that they ought to be considered as distinct agencies.”

Braid's position was an anomalous one. He almost pooh-poohed Bertrand's theory, that the phenomena were the result of imagination—that the subject was acted on psychically, and that, therefore, what we now call “auto-suggestion” was at the bottom of it all. He equally dismissed the “fluid”

theory as a fanciful and unwarranted assumption. He declared that the sleep was the consequence of the physical act of gazing fixedly and continuously at one point, and he made use of that method for inducing the "nervous sleep," or hypnotic condition. He did not use the touchings, pointings, or other "manœuvres" of the early magnetisers, nor the passes and breathings of De Puységur's School. He never used will (at least consciously); he did not ask for faith, and he succeeded equally well with those who believed, and those who did not. He did not require his subjects even to know the object, or expected result, of his proceedings; he merely asked them to do precisely what he told them; and when they did so success always followed. Should this method of producing hypnosis be described as physiological or psychological? Some have considered that Braid's Hypnotism should be considered a psychological process, among whom is Mr. Waite; others think it distinctly physiological.* The facts are not disputed, only their interpretation; and the facts are that Braid always made use of means almost wholly physical to produce a physiological effect, which was accompanied by certain psychological phenomena; he made use of the physiological

* In a communication to the International Hypnotic Congress of 1900, Durand de Gros (Dr. Philips) says that when Braid was accused of plagiarising from the Abbé Faria, he replied that the Abbé Faria's method acted on the imagination, whereas his was *purely physical*. I cannot locate the passage in Braid's works, but here are Dr. Durant's words:—

"Le procédé de Faria est de nature mentale, disait il, c'est une action sur l'imagination; le mien est purement physique, consistant à produire une certaine lassitude du cerveau par la contemplation prolongée d'un point fixe." Dr. Philips, the author of "Braidisme," and champion of Braid, ought to know.

effects to cure disease, but regarded the psychological phenomena as matters of curiosity, which came under the head of "imagination," and were therefore not worth serious or scientific investigation. He was aware that a subject who had been frequently hypnotised could be affected "entirely through the imagination." "Thus, if they consider or imagine there is something doing, although they do not see it, from which they are affected, they will become affected."

That Braid did not use Suggestion for curative purposes was not because he was unacquainted with its power. He mentions it in many places, but perhaps the following passage, written in 1852, is the most striking:—

"Those who suppose that the power of imagination is merely a mental emotion, which may vary to any extent without corresponding changes in the physical functions, labour under a mighty mistake. It is notorious to those who have carefully studied this curious subject, that imagination can either kill or cure; that many tricks have been played upon healthy persons by several friends conspiring, in succession, to express themselves as surprised, or sorry, or shocked to see them looking so ill; and that very soon a visible change has come over the patients, and they have actually gone home and been confined there for days from bodily illness thus induced. Not only so, but there are even cases recorded, in which we have the best authority for the fact, where patients who were previously in perfect health have actually died from the power of imagination excited entirely through the suggestion of others. Nor are the suggestions by others of the ideas of health, vigour, hope, and improved looks, less influential with many people for restoring health and energy both of mind and body. Having such a mighty power to work with, then, the great desideratum has been to devise the best means for regulating and controlling it, so as to render it subservient to our will for relieving and curing diseases. The modes devised both by mesmerists and hypnotists for these ends I consider to be a real, solid, and

important addition to therapeutics; and not the less curious and important that it is done simply through appeals to the *immortal soul*, to assert and demonstrate its superiority and control over the *mortal body*."

Braid did not use Suggestion for curative purposes, partly because his old-school education, and his own physiological theory, prevented him from seeing its "practical" therapeutical value, or even its psychological, as distinguished from its philosophical importance; and partly because he pictured hypnotism as giving control over the imagination, in much the same way as it did over the circulation (Braid thought of Suggestion as producing "dreams"); and since he could cure directly by controlling the circulation, he did not need to cure at second-hand, by first producing a dream of health, and then expecting that dream to cure the disease. It is evident that Braid, like Mesmer, regarded his action as assisting Nature, or the in-dwelling soul of man, to effect the cure by its own *vis medicatrix*; and had he followed a practice founded on the power of mind over body, as distinguished from *soul* over body, he would probably have inclined more to "Mental Science" than to Suggestionism.

That Braid understood Verbal Suggestion a good deal better than some hypnotists do even yet, is proved by the following amusing account of a visit he made to "an eminent and excellent physician" in London (probably Dr. Ashburner), who believed in the efficacy of magnets. It is quoted by Mr. Waite from one of Braid's later writings:—

"He kindly offered to illustrate the fact on a patient who had been asleep all the time I was in the room, and in that

stage during which I felt sure she could overhear every word of our conversation. He told me that when he put the magnet into her hands it would produce catalepsy of the hands and arms, and such was the result. He wafted the hands, and the catalepsy ceased. He said that the mere touch of the magnet on a limb would stiffen it, and such he proved to be the fact. I now told him that I had a little instrument in my pocket which, although far less than his, I felt sure would prove quite as powerful, and I offered to prove this by operating on the same patient, whom I had never seen before. My instrument was about three inches long, the thickness of a quill, with a ring attached to the end of it. I told him that when put into her hands he would find it catalepsy both hands and arms as his had done, and such was the result. Having reduced this by wafting, I took my instrument from her and again returned it, *in another position*, and told him that it would now have the reverse effect—that she would not be able to hold it, and that, although I closed her hands on it, they would open and that it would drop out of them, and such was the case, to the great surprise of my worthy friend, who now desired to be informed *what I had done to the instrument to invest it with this new and opposite power*. This I declined doing for the present. I now told him that a touch with it on either extremity would cause the extremity to rise and become cataleptic, and such was the result; and that a second touch on the same joint would reduce the rigidity and cause it to fall, and such again was proved to be the fact. After a variety of other experiments, every one of which proved precisely as I had predicted, she was aroused. I now applied the ring of my instrument to the third finger of the right hand, from which it was suspended, and told the doctor that when it was so suspended it would send her to sleep. To this he replied, '*it never will*,' but I again told him that I felt confident. We were silent, and very speedily she was once more asleep. Having aroused her, I put the instrument on the second finger of her left hand, and told the doctor it would be found she could *not* go to sleep when it was placed there. He said he thought she would, and he sat steadily gazing at her, but I said firmly and confidently that she would not. After a considerable time the doctor asked her if she did not feel sleepy, to which she replied, '*not at all*.' I then requested her to look at the point of the forefinger of her right hand, which I told the doctor would send her to sleep, and such was the result. After being aroused, I desired her to keep a steady gaze at the nail of the thumb of the left hand, which would send her

to sleep in like manner, and such proved to be the fact. Having repaired to another room, I explained to the doctor the real nature and powers of my little instrument—that it was nothing more than my *portmanteau key and ring*, and that what had imparted to it such apparently varied powers was merely the prediction which the patient had overheard me make to him, acting upon her in the peculiar state of nervous sleep, as irresistible impulses to be affected according to the results she had heard me predict.”

This power of hearing and understanding what was said, possessed by subjects apparently fast asleep, was known to the Electro-biologists, the operator frequently giving them suggestions by telling the audience what the apparently unconscious subjects would do when he clapped his hands, or made some such signal. But Electro-biologists did not make a direct use of the power of suggestion to cure disease, and neither did Braid. The Electro-biologists, like Braid, made use of physiological causes to produce both physical and psychical effects; but the former neglected the physical effects, except to produce insensibility for small minor surgical operations, and developed and used only the psychical effects, whereas Braid neglected the psychical effects, and developed and used only the physical. The difference between Braid's Hypnotism and Electro-biology was obvious, both in theory and in practice, but a difference was not so evident in the case of Mesmerism. The question was, whether the Magnetisers and Braid were not, after all, using the same “force,” interpreting the facts in a somewhat different manner, and by different theories. Braid seems to have always been anxious to differentiate Hypnotism in some way from Animal Magnetism, and not to have known

how to do it.* In *Neurypnology* he says, "I have now entirely separated Hypnotism from Animal Magnetism," and he asks that Hypnotism shall be judged on its own merits; eleven years later, in his "Observations on Trance," he said that "Hypnotism might not inaptly be designated Rational Mesmerism, in contradistinction to the Transcendental Mesmerism of the mesmerists." Braid never produced true clairvoyance, and seldom obtained complete anæsthesia by his method; but the effects he produced were rapid and sure. He put it thus:—

"The greatest and most important difference is this, that they (the mesmerists) can succeed so seldom, and I so generally, in inducing the phenomena which we both profess to effect. Granting, therefore, to the mesmerisers the full credit of being able to produce certain wonderful phenomena which I have not been able to produce by my plan, still it follows that mine is superior to theirs, in so far as *general applicability and practical utility are concerned*."

Braid's attitude to Mesmerism was not always so gracious, and it was his early parade of disbelief in the "higher phenomena," and his rejection both of will-power, and of "the fluid," that put the magnetisers into opposition to him. The "Zoist" completely ignored him for years, except that Dr. Elliotson contemptuously alluded to Hypnotism as

* The sensations seem to have been much the same when put to sleep by either methods; but we read in the "Zoist" that a Miss Collins, a patient first of Braid and then of Elliotson, while in the sleep compared the sensations of Mesmerism and Hypnotism greatly to the advantage of the former. She said: "When hypnotised, I disliked to talk, was not always in good temper - very cross; but when mesmerised by Dr. Elliotson's method felt cheerful and happy, and much better when awake." Another patient of Elliotson corroborated this estimate, and attributed the unpleasantness of hypnotism to the straining of the eyes, which gave her pains in them and headache; for Braid's usual method, especially at first, was to cause "the greatest possible strain on eyes and eyelids."

“that coarse method practised by Mr. Braid.” The jealousy and contempt felt and shown for each other by magnetisers and hypnotisers did both of them much harm, and the opposition still continues, to their mutual disadvantage—for it lessens them both in the estimation of the public, who regard their disputes as the pot calling the kettle “black.” A careful consideration of Braid’s method of operating throws much light on his ideas. He describes it thus :—

“Take any bright object (I generally use my lancet case) between the thumb and fore and middle fingers of the left hand; hold it from about eight to fifteen inches from the eyes, at such position above the forehead as may be necessary to produce the greatest possible strain upon the eyes and eyelids, and enable the patient to maintain a steady fixed stare at the object. The patient must be made to understand that he is to keep his eyes steadily fixed on the object, and the mind riveted on the idea of that one object. It will be observed that, owing to the consensual adjustment of the eyes, the pupils will be at first contracted: they will shortly begin to dilate, and after they have done so to a considerable extent, and have assumed a wavy motion, if the fore and middle fingers of the right hand, extended and a little separated, are carried from the object toward the eyes, most probably the eyes will close involuntarily, with a vibratory motion. If this be not the case, or the patient allows the eyeballs to move, desire him to begin anew, giving him to understand that he is to allow the eyelids to close when the fingers are again carried towards the eyes, but that the eyeballs must be kept fixed in the same position, and the mind riveted to the one idea of the object held above his eyes. It will generally be found that the eyelids close with a vibratory motion, or become spasmodically closed. After ten or fifteen seconds have elapsed, by gently elevating the arms and legs, it will be found that the patient has a disposition to retain them in the situation in which they have been placed, if he is intensely affected. If this is not the case, in a soft tone of voice desire him to retain the limbs in the extended position, and thus the pulse will speedily become greatly accelerated, and the limbs, in process of time, will become quite rigid and involun-

tarily fixed. It will also be found that all the organs of special sense, excepting sight, including heat and cold, and muscular motion, or resistance, and certain mental faculties, are at first prodigiously exalted, such as happens to the primary effect of opium, wine and spirits. After a certain point, however, this exaltation of function is followed by a state of depression far greater than the torpor of natural sleep. From the state of the most profound torpor of the organs of special sense, and tonic rigidity of the muscles, they may, at this stage, instantly be restored to the opposite condition of extreme mobility and exalted sensibility, by directing a current of air against the organ or organs we wish to excite to action, or the muscles we wish to render limber, and which had been in the cataleptiform state." *

This passage would be enough to prove that Braid was a physiological, not a psychological hypnotist; but in numerous other places he makes it perfectly clear that the agency he employed (or thought he employed) was the excitation or depression of the system, by means of the acceleration or retardation of the heart's action, or the arterial circulation; and that this effect was produced and controlled by causing the various muscles to contract or expand, which was accomplished by extending or flexing a limb, or part, when the subject was in a peculiar state of "nervous sleep," which, in turn, could be brought on by causing him to concentrate his attention (mentally and bodily) upon a bright object, in the way he describes so minutely. Nothing could be more definite in this regard than the description given by Braid of the symptoms or conditions of the state he induced by his process. He says:—

"The first symptoms after the induction of the hypnotic state, and extending the limbs, are those of extreme excitement

* The *modus operandi* of the current of air Braid says he does not know.

of all the organs of sense, sight excepted. I have ascertained by actual measurement that the hearing is about twelve times more acute than in the natural condition. Thus, a patient who could not hear the ticking of a watch beyond three feet when awake, could do so when hypnotised at a distance of thirty-five feet, and walk to it in a direct line without difficulty or hesitation. Smell is in like manner wonderfully exalted; one patient has been able to trace a rose through the air when held forty-six feet from her. . . . The tactual sensibility is so great that the slightest touch is felt, and will call into action corresponding muscles, which will also be found to exert a most inordinate power. The sense of heat, cold, and resistance are also exalted to that degree as to enable the patient to feel anything without actual contact, in some cases at a considerable distance (eighteen or twenty inches) if the temperature is very different from that of the body; and some will feel a breath of air from the lips, or the blast of a pair of bellows at a distance of fifty, or even ninety feet, and bend from it, and, by making a back current as by waving the hand or a fan, will move in the opposite direction. The patient has a tendency to *approach to or recede from impressions, according as they are agreeable or disagreeable, either in quality or intensity*. Thus they will approach to soft sounds, and recede from loud sounds, however harmonious. . . . By allowing a little time to elapse, and the patient to be in a state of quietude, he will lapse into the opposite extreme of rigidity and torpor of *all* the senses, so that he will not hear the loudest noise, nor smell the most fragrant or pungent odour; nor feel what is either hot or cold, although not only approximated to, but brought into actual contact with the skin. He may now be pinched, or pricked, or maimed without evincing the slightest symptom of pain or sensibility, and the limbs will remain rigidly fixed. At this stage a puff of wind directed against any organ *instantaneously* rouses it to inordinate sensibility, and the rigid muscles to a state of mobility. Thus the patient may be unconscious of the loudest noise, but by simply causing a current of air to come against the ear a very moderate noise will *instantly* be heard so *intensely* as to make the patient start and shiver violently, although the whole body had been immediately before rigidly cataleptiform. A rose, valerian, or asafœdita, or strongest *liquor ammoniæ* may have been held close under the nostrils without being perceived, but a puff of wind directed against the nostrils will instantly rouse the sense so much that, supposing the rose had been carried forty-six feet distant, the patient has instantly set off in pursuit

of it; and, even when the eyes were bandaged, reached it as certainly as a dog traces out game; but as respects valerian or asafoedita, will rush *from* the unpleasant smell with the greatest haste. The same with the sense of smell.

“The remarkable fact that the whole senses may have been in the state of profound torpor, and the body in a state of rigidity, and yet, by a very gentle pressure over the eyeballs, the patient shall be instantly roused to the waking condition, as regards all the senses and the mobility of the head and neck; in short to all parts supplied by nerves originating above the origin of the fifth pair, and those inosculating with them, and will not be affected by simple mechanical appliance to other organs of sense, is a striking proof that there exists some remarkable connection between the state of the eyes and condition of the brain and spinal cord during the hypnotic state.

“Another remarkable proof to the same effect is this: supposing the same state of torpor of all the senses and rigidity of body and limbs to exist, a puff of air or gentle pressure against *one* eye will restore sight to *that eye*, and sense and mobility to *one-half of the body*—the same side as the eye operated upon—but will leave the other eye insensible, and the other half of the body rigid and torpid as before. Neither hearing nor smell are restored in this case to either side. Thus, by one mode of acting through the eye, we reduce the patient to a state of hemiplegia, by the other to that of paraplegia, as regards both sense and motion.”

Braid's method is usually believed to consist essentially in the fixation of the eye upon a bright object placed near enough to cause a violent squint, which tires the muscles of the eye, or in some way affects the optic nerve, the consequence of which is the hypnotic sleep. But the fact is that Braid, after a while, found that this straining of the eye is not needed to produce hypnosis. He was very successful with blind people, in whose case there could be no fixation of the eye upon a bright object; he hypnotised them by getting them to keep their eyes turned upwards and inwards; and this too, he dropped, even in the case of those who were not blind,

when violent physical effects were not desired. He says:—

“From some peculiar views I was led to make experiments, by which I hoped to obtain natural or refreshing sleep, and the results were quite satisfactory. I have thus succeeded in making a patient—who, when operated upon in the usual way, was highly susceptible and disposed to become strongly cataleptic, with rapid pulse and oppressed breathing—remain in a sound sleep for upwards of three hours, with all the muscles flaccid, and the pulse and respiration slower than natural when operated on in this manner. All this difference arises from the simple circumstance of the position in which the eyes are placed during the operation, namely, closing the eyelids and bringing the eyes loosely upwards, as if looking at an object at a great distance, the eye-balls being turned up only gently, so as to cause dilatation of the pupil, as already explained; and the limbs so placed as to relax the muscles as much as possible, and thus prevent acceleration of the pulse.”

It was not to this refreshing sleep, however, that Braid looked for his more important results. He did not take the view, now adopted by a good many hypnotists, that hypnosis is merely an intensification of natural sleep, differing from it not in kind, but only on degree. He argues at length to the contrary effect, and I may quote from his argument, as it incidentally illustrates the nature of his curative operations:—

“Of all the circumstances connected with the artificial sleep which I induce, nothing so strongly marks the difference between it and natural sleep as the wonderful power the former evinces in curing many diseases of long standing, and which had resisted natural sleep, and every known agency for years—*e.g.*, patients who have been born deaf and dumb, of various ages up to thirty-two years, had continued without the power of hearing sound until the time they were operated on by me, and yet they were enabled to do so by being kept in the hypnotic state for eight, ten, or twelve minutes, and have had their hearing still further improved by a repetition of similar operations.”

These people, he says, have had years of natural sleep without deriving the slightest benefit in respect to their hearing, but they are made to hear by a few minutes of the hypnotic sleep, which, he thought, proves conclusively how different are the two kinds of sleep. He gives the following instances:—

“A lady, fifty-four years of age, had been suffering for sixteen years from incipient amaurosis. According to the same ratio she must have had four years of sleep, but, instead of improving, she was every month getting worse, and when she called on me could with difficulty read two words of the largest heading of a newspaper. After *eight minutes* hypnotic sleep, however, she could read other words, and in three minutes more the whole of the smaller heading, soon after a smaller sized type, and the same afternoon, with the aid of her glasses, read the 118th Psalm (twenty-nine verses) in a small diamond Polyglot Bible, which for years had been a sealed book to her. There has also been a most remarkable improvement in this lady’s general health since she was hypnotised. Is there any individual who can fail to see, in this case, something different from common sleep? Another lady, forty-four years of age, had required glasses twenty-two years to enable her to sew, read or write. She had thus five years and a half of sleep, but the sight was still getting worse, so that, before being hypnotised, she could not distinguish the capitals in the advertising columns of a newspaper. After being hypnotised, however, she could in a few minutes see to read the large and second headings of the newspaper, and next day to make herself a blonde cap, threading her needle without the aid of glasses.”

This lady’s daughter, whose sight had been failing for two years, was cured in one sitting. All three ladies, moreover, found their memories improved in a remarkable manner by the operation. The Second Part of “Neurypnology” contains an account of these cases, certified to by witnesses;*

* With regard to the “cases” he gives, Braid writes with much emphasis:—

“I consider it necessary to explain that my reason for having inserted some cases attested by patients and others is that most

and in the case of Mrs. Roiley (the first of the three cases mentioned above) the improvement in her general health was so remarkable that I shall quote what Braid says about it:—

“She stated that for the last sixteen years she had been a great sufferer from an affection of the head, attended with pains in the eyes and weakness of sight; that it had now become so bad that she could not continue to read for more than a few minutes at a time, even with the aid of her glasses. She had undergone the most active treatment under first-rate medical men, including bleeding, general and local, blistering, on one occasion she was twice bled with leeches, and had five blisters on her head in one month—and almost every variety of internal medicine that could be suggested for such a case, but still without improving her sight. For years she had required to have her head shaved every few weeks, and cold effusions and spirituous lotions frequently applied to it, to reduce the excessive heat and other uncomfortable feelings. The skin of the palms of her hands was so hard, dry, and irritable as to render it liable to chap whenever she opened her hands fully. The pain during the day, and general irritability, had rendered it necessary for her to take a composing pill three times in the twenty-four hours for some time; still her rest was so bad as to force her to rise and walk about the room several times during the night; and her memory had become so much impaired that she often required to go upstairs and then down again several times before she could remember what she went up for. About three years before consulting me she had a paralytic attack, which deprived her of power of the muscles of the right side of her face for a few days.”

Then follows the certified account of her hypnotic treatment, which consisted of only three or four sittings of ten minutes each. After that we have the account of the general improvement,

unwarrantable interferences have been resorted to by several medical men in order to misrepresent them. In one instance, in order to obtain an *attested erroneous* document, the case was READ to the patient and others present, THE VERY REVERSE OF WHAT WAS WRITTEN. However extraordinary such conduct may appear, the fact of its occurrence was *publicly proved and borne testimony to by the patient and other parties present on the occasion when the document was obtained.*”

written a year afterwards, and read over to Mrs. Roiley, who said it was "under-drawn":—

"It is gratifying to be able to add that the improvement in sight has been permanent; and not only so, but that the whole painful catalogue of complaints with which she had been afflicted speedily disappeared, namely, pain of the chest, head and eyes, loss of memory, disturbed sleep, irregularity of the secreting and digestive functions, and instead of the arid skin regular action of it, so that the palms of the hands, which were so harsh and arid that she could not extend them without lacerating the skin, were very soon as soft as a piece of chamois leather. The whole of this improvement was accomplished entirely by this agency, as she had no medicine whatever during her attendance on me: nor has she required any up to this date."

When we remember that Braid was perfectly qualified, not only by his professional knowledge and ability, but also by reason of his cautious and judicial temper, to describe these cases correctly, and to estimate the benefit of treatment at its proper value, it seems difficult to think of any alternative to accepting his accounts of the wonderful cures he made as actually true statements of facts, except the supposition that Braid was a colossal liar, who, in some extraordinary way, managed to get other people in considerable numbers to corroborate what he said by a system of long-continued fraud and whole-hearted mendacity. He was, in fact, advised not to say more than would be likely to be believed, just as Mesmer was advised by Baron von Stoeck. He says:—

"The extraordinary effects of a few minutes' hypnotism, manifested in such cases (so very different from what we realise by the application of ordinary means) may appear startling to those unacquainted with the remarkable powers of this process. I have been recommended on this account to conceal the fact of the rapidity and extent of the changes induced, as many may consider the thing *impossible*, and thus be led to reject the *less*

startling, although *not more true*, reports of its beneficial action in other cases. In recording the cases, however, I have considered it my duty to record *facts as I found them*, and to make no compromise for the sake of accommodating them to the pre-conceived notions or prejudices of others."

Although we owe our knowledge of Braid's successes chiefly to his own accounts of them, there is no reason to doubt his accuracy; for those accounts were published during his lifetime, attested by competent witnesses, and were never seriously questioned. They show that he seldom required more than ten or twelve minutes to give a treatment, which, as we see, was often followed by seemingly miraculous results. Old cases of curvature of the spine he found very easily cured in a couple of weeks; blindness and deafness vanished after a few operations. The following is a case of deafness:—

"Nodan, deaf mute, twenty-four years of age, was considered never to have heard sound excepting the report of a gun or thunder, when there was succussion of the air sufficient to induce *feeling* rather than hearing, properly so-called. The mother told me that Mr. Vaughan, head master of the Deaf and Dumb Institution where Nodan was at school, considered any indication of hearing referred to was feeling, and not hearing, properly so-called. At the first operation there was very little rise of pulse, and afterwards I could not discern he had any sense of hearing whatever. At the next trial the pulse was excited, and so remarkable was the effect that going home he was so much annoyed with the noise of the carts and carriages, that he would not allow himself to be operated upon again for some time. He has only been operated on a few times, and the result is that, although he lives in a back street, he can now hear a band of music coming along the *front* street, and will run out to meet it."

Braid was most anxious to introduce his system into Institutions for the Deaf and Dumb, as his successes made him think that there must be a considerable number of unfortunates in those institutions

who could be restored to social life by being cured through Hypnotism. He found, however, that the authorities in those institutions would not allow such trials; and this was not his only difficulty, for he met with opposition from some of those whom he wished to benefit. In reporting the case of John Wright, a congenital deaf mute, "who had not patience to persevere," Braid remarks:—

"Unfortunately, the deaf and dumb are not aware of the extent of their privation, or of the real advantage they would obtain by persevering; and their expectation, and that of their friends, in most cases seems to be that the moment they have the power of hearing restored in some degree they should, as by a miracle, also be immediately inspired with the gift of tongues, and be able to speak and understand language without study, toil, or trouble."

Many of the sixty-six cases given in the Second Part of Braid's book would probably seem to border on the miraculous to anyone unacquainted with the occasionally very rapid action of the curative agent called into play by Braid's method of hypnotising. We find in this collection cases of *tic douloureux*, nervous headache, palpitation, and intermittent action of the heart, spinal irritation, neuralgia of the heart, epilepsy, rheumatism (chronic and acute), paralysis, distortions of various kinds, tonic spasm, &c.; and in most cases the cure was accomplished by a few hypnotic operations of some ten minutes each. It is difficult to select any of these cases as samples, for they are almost all extremely remarkable, and all are different in some features. Here is Case No. 29 for instance:—

"Joseph Barnet, near Hope Inn, Heaton Norris, Stockport, sixty-two years of age, called to consult me on the 10th of December, 1841, for a severe rheumatic affection of the back,

hip, and leg, of thirteen years' standing, which had been so severe that he had not been able to earn a day's wages during that period. He had been equally a stranger to comfort by day, as to refreshing sleep by night. He came to me leaning feebly over his stick, suffering anguish at every step or movement of his body. He was treated at the commencement of his complaint by a surgeon; but feeling no relief, like many others similarly afflicted, he had recourse to all sorts of nostrums, and also to hot salt water baths. I hypnotised him, placing him in such attitudes as his particular case required, and in fifteen minutes aroused him, when he was able to bend his body freely and not only to walk, but even to run. He called on me in a few days after, when he stated he had slept comfortably, and been perfectly easy from the time he left me till the night before. I hypnotised him again with advantage, and a few times more sufficed to restore him entirely. This patient was seen, and bore testimony to these facts at two of my lectures. After one of them, from being too late for the coach, he walked home a distance of six miles. This was by no means judicious, but proves incontestably his great improvement."

Here is the statement of Mr. James Collins, of Newark, in regard to his daughter:—

"My daughter, sixteen years of age, had been afflicted for six months with a rigid contraction of the muscles on the left side of the neck to so great a degree that it would have been impossible to insert an ordinary card between the ear and the shoulder, so close was their contact; and consequently she was rapidly becoming malformed. She had the best advice to be procured in the country, and I had taken her to London with a written statement of the treatment previously employed, and had the opinion of Sir Benjamin Brodie, who approved of what had been done, but gave no hope of speedy relief.

"In consequence of seeing a report of a lecture given on the subject by Mr. Braid, surgeon, St. Peter's Square, Manchester, and a letter written to that gentleman by Mr. Mayo, of London, I went with her, by the advice of Dr. Chawner, who indeed accompanied us, and placed her under the care of Mr. Braid on Tuesday evening, the 24th March last (1842). In less than a minute, after that gentleman began to fix her attention, she was in a mesmeric (neuro-hypnotic) slumber, and in another minute was partially cataleptic. Mr. Braid then, without

awakening her and consequently without giving her any pain, placed her head upright, which I firmly believe could not by any possibility have been done five minutes before without disruption of the muscles, or the infliction of some serious injury, and, I am thankful to say, it not only continues straight, but she has the perfect control over the muscles of the neck. A nervous motion of the head, to which she had been subject after her return from Manchester, has entirely ceased, and she is at present in excellent health. It is necessary to remark that, on Dr. Chawner's recommendation, she was frequently watched while asleep, and not the slightest relaxation was observed in the contracted muscles. Many respectable persons can bear testimony to the statements herein made."

This case is of particular interest, because Braid makes the following remarks in regard to it, which show how he operated:—

"I have been informed that some very absurd reports have been circulated, even in the metropolis, as to my mode of operating on this patient, namely, that I had exhibited a vast display of gesticulations and hocus pocus in order to work upon her imagination. SUCH STATEMENTS ARE UTTERLY UNTRUE. I simply desired her to maintain a steady gaze at my lancet case, held above her eyes in the manner pointed out at page 109 of this work, and, after the eyes had been closed and the limbs extended for about two minutes, I placed my left hand on the right side of her neck and my right hand on the left side of her head, and, by gentle means, gave a new direction to the sensorial and muscular power, and was thus enabled by art, rather than mechanical force, in less than half a minute to incline the head from the left to the right of the mesial plane. The muscular contraction being thus excited on the right side of the neck, in muscles which had been inactive for six months previously, was the surest and most natural mode of withdrawing the power from their antagonists, and reducing the spasm of the contracted muscles on the left side. After allowing the patient to remain two minutes supporting her head, now inclined towards the right, by her own muscular efforts, to give them power on the principle already explained, I roused her in my usual way by a clap of my hands. The patient's father and Dr. Chawner, of Newark, were present the whole time, and to them I appeal as to the correctness of the vile and unfounded calumny above referred to. After the lapse of a year Mr. Collins was so kind

as to write to inform me his daughter continued in perfect health, with complete control over the muscles of the neck.”*

Not the least interesting of Braid’s “cases” is that in which he was his own patient. This instance of auto-hypnotism is contained in one of Braid’s later writings, “Observations on Trance,” and the report runs as follows :—

“In the middle of September, 1844, I suffered from a most severe attack of rheumatism, implicating the left side of the neck and chest and the left arm. At first the pain was moderately severe, and I took some medicine to remove it; but, instead of this, it became more and more violent and had tormented me for three days, and was so excruciating that it entirely deprived me of sleep for *three nights successively*, and on the last of the three nights I could not remain in any one posture for five minutes for the severity of the pain. On the forenoon of the next day, while visiting my patients, every jolt of the carriage I could only compare to several sharp instruments being thrust through my shoulder, neck and chest. A full inspiration was attended with stabbing pain, such as is experienced in pleurisy. When I returned home for dinner I could neither turn my head, lift my arm, nor draw a breath without suffering extreme pain. In this condition, I resolved to try the effects of hypnotism. I requested two friends, who were present and who both understood the system, to watch the effects and arouse me when I had passed sufficiently into the condition; and, with their assurance that they would give strict attention to their charge, I sat down and hypnotised myself, extending the extremities. At the expiration of *nine minutes* they aroused me, and, to my agreeable

* In his pamphlet, “On the Treatment of Certain Forms of Paralysis” (1855), Braid mentions this case again, and explains that it was by titillating the skin softly on the right side of the throat that he caused the contraction of the underlying muscles, which relieved the contraction of the muscles on the opposite side of the neck. He adds: “As a slight crookedness of the vertebral column remained, I hypnotised her subsequently when standing upright, and endeavoured, during the sleep, to straighten the vertebral column by manipulation. This also was successful, and on again awakening her the head and vertebral column continued in their natural position.” This titillating (tickling) of the muscles of the opposite side, followed by their contraction and the relaxation of their opponents, resembles the resolution of ‘contractures,’ and ‘transfers’ of the Salpêtrière School of Hypnotism.”

surprise, *I was quite free from pain, being able to move with perfect ease.* I say agreeably surprised on this account—I had seen like results with many patients; but it is one thing to *hear of pain* and another to *feel it*. My suffering was so exquisite that I could not imagine anyone else ever suffered so intensely as I myself on that occasion; and, therefore, I merely expected a *mitigation*, so that I was truly agreeably surprised to find myself *quite free from pain*. I continued quite easy all the afternoon, slept comfortably all night, and the following morning felt a little *stiffness*, but *no pain*. A week thereafter I had a slight return, which I removed *by hypnotising myself once more*; and I have remained quite free from rheumatism ever since, now nearly six years.”

With Braid there is very little question of “susceptibility”; he says: “If the patient and operator comply in *all* respects as I direct, success is almost certain; but, on the contrary, he is almost equally certain to fail if *all* the conditions are not strictly complied with.”* We do not hear of other hypnotisers having a like success; indeed, we hear very little of any other hypnotisers by Braid’s method than Braid himself; perhaps many operators did not fulfil *all* the requirements, without which Braid said that failure was *almost certain*, but it is significant that mesmerists explained Braid’s success

* In “Neurypnology” Braid says, “The varieties which are met with as regards susceptibility to the hypnotic impression, and the mode and degree of its action, are only analogous to what we experience in respect to the effects of wine, spirits, opium, the nitrous oxide, and many other agents.” Elsewhere he recognises considerable differences in the susceptibility of persons, but he seems to have taken no notice of it in his practice. The same uncertainty exists about this point in Braid’s case as in that of our present hypnotists, for we do not know what sign or symptom Braid took for the proof that hypnosis in some degree had been induced. Some modern hypnotisers say they can hypnotise ninety per cent. of those whom they try, but that is generally understood to mean that they produce an effect of some kind—even the mere characteristic vibration of the eyelid being counted as an appreciable degree of hypnosis.

by attributing to him "a rare and powerful healing gift." Braid, in fact, resembled Mesmer in some respects more than he did either De Puységur or our present Suggestionists. He relied upon a process which was chiefly physical for the production of certain effects which were in themselves curative, quite irrespective of will or belief; which developed in regular order spontaneously; and which ended in something very like a "crisis." It was this development that Braid "controlled." He says:—

"If the force of the circulation of a limb is wished to be diminished, and the *sensibility* also to be *reduced*, call the muscles of that member into activity, leaving the other extremities limber. On the other hand, if the force of the circulation and sensibility are wished to be *increased* in a limb, keep *it* limber, and call the others into activity by elevating and extending them, and the desired result will follow. If *general depression* is wanted, after one or two limbs have been extended for a short time, cautiously reduce them, and leave the whole body limber and quiet. If *general excitement* of the system is wanted, extend the whole limbs, causing the patient to call the muscles into strong action, and they very speedily will become rigidly fixed, and the force and frequency of the heart's action increased."

Braid considered the "nervous sleep" to be a state of concentration, "the very antithesis, or opposite mental and physical condition, to that which precedes and accompanies common sleep," the latter being, as he points out, a diffused mental state; and he found that if he awakened a subject suddenly (for instance, by clapping his hands), he "fixed" a mental or bodily change; whereas, if he awakened him gently, by fanning him, or by passing the thumbs over his eyebrows, the subject resumed his former condition; and he made use of this device to produce a "shock" or "acute attack" (crisis?). He says: "My views were in such cases

to induce an intense state of excitement for a short time to be terminated abruptly, with the hope of changing the former action, and thus terminating the disorder." This plan he found "effectual in many cases of obstinate functional disorder."

That Braid had no knowledge of the writings of the magnetisers is evident from what he says of Animal Magnetism in various places. He could never have seen, or, at least, studied, a case of true mesmeric clairvoyance, or it would have been impossible for him to have said, as he did, that clairvoyance is merely "a dream spoken and acted out, directed and modified by suggestions of those present": nor could he have applied to clairvoyance, had he had any experience of it, a description which fits it so little as that implied in the assertion that its peculiar characteristic is "to accept every idea arising in the mind, or suggested to it through impressions on the senses, as present realities, with a tendency, as in insanity, to reason correctly, occasionally, from the erroneous premises which had been assumed as true." That is a pretty accurate description of the condition of hypnosis which it is the object of the Suggestionists to induce, but it is as little descriptive of clairvoyance as his account of the manner of the clairvoyant's "revelations": "like dreaming and fortune-telling, the answers are given in very vague phraseology, so that they may admit of any variety of interpretation which may best suit the fancy of the parties interested in the issue of the enquiry." Every treatise on Animal Magnetism particularly warns the magnetiser against saying or doing anything that would convey the

slightest suggestion to the clairvoyant, and all magnetisers declare that the moment a clairvoyant begins to use the external senses, or to reason, or even to think about what he says, true clairvoyance ceases, or at least becomes mixed up with fancies and inventions; and when we remember that warning it seems evident that Baird was not competent to pronounce on clairvoyance. Indeed he “laid down the law” as follows—nor did he ever change his opinion :—

“The *whole* of the really striking achievements of mesmeric clairvoyants—which are not simply occasional coincidences and shrewd guesses—are merely results of concentrated attention, quickened memory, exaltation of the natural organs of special sense, with self-confidence, and accurate deductions as to what might be calculated upon regarding the future, from contemplation of the circumstances of the existing case compared with what was known from past experience. In fine, they are conclusions drawn from given premises, when contemplated with a quickness of perception, conception, and memory, and with a force of reason unknown to us during the ordinary diffused and distracted or ever varying state of our attention during the waking condition.”

About one-fifth of “Neurypnology” is taken up with a discussion of Phreno-hypnotism, the striking phenomena of which Braid produced with great ease, but which he was at a loss to account for by any theory which would fit his pre-conceptions. He is a valuable witness for the actuality of the fact that in hypnosis the phrenological organs can be affected by touches or pressures so as to elicit an exhibition of the faculty or emotion which, according to Phrenology, corresponds with their supposed functions; but his explanation seems ludicrous, namely, that the manipulations excited the underlying muscles of the scalp and face, and the contraction of these muscles,

being associated with certain actions, suggest these actions, and that this awakens the corresponding emotion in the mind. It seems extraordinary that Braid did not perceive the grotesque inadequacy of that explanation for the phenomena he elaborately describes. One remarkable feature of his experiments was the locating of "organs" in the face. He found, for instance, that touching the bridge of the nose made some subjects extremely merry, while touching the chin caused them to sigh and weep.* Braid tells us that he realised the Phreno-hypnotic phenomena "very prominently" in forty-five people, many of whom were friends upon whose good faith he could perfectly rely; and he says "I am quite certain as to the reality of the phenomena; but as to my theoretical views, I wish them to be considered as mere conjectures, thrown out for the purpose of exciting others to think and investigate this curious and most interesting and important subject." The following was Braid's methods of producing the Phreno-hypnotic phenomena:—

"Put the patient into the hypnotic condition in the usual way, extend his arms for a minute or two, then replace them gently in his lap and allow him to remain perfectly quiet for a few minutes. Let the points of one or two fingers be now

* Braid thought that during the nervous sleep "the mind is liable to manifest itself as entirely absorbed in whatever individual passion or emotion it may be directed to"; the consequence being "that an idea being excited in the mind, associated with contact with *any* part of the body, whether head, trunk, or extremities, by *continuing such contact* the mind might be rivetted for an almost indefinite length of time to the same train of ideas which would work themselves up into more and more vivid manifestation, according to the length of time afforded for that purpose." This is the general law of which Phreno-hypnotism makes, according to Braid, a partial application. It is, in fact, the "monoideism" of the present hypnotists.

placed on the central point of any of his best developed organs and press it very gently; if no change of countenance or bodily movement is evinced, use gentle friction, and then in a soft voice ask what he is thinking of, or wishes to do, or what he sees, as the function of the organ may indicate; and repeat the questions and the pressure or contact or friction over the organ till an answer is elicited. If very stolid, gentle pressure on the eyeballs may be necessary to make him speak; if the skin is too sensitive he may awake, in which case try again, waiting a little longer; if too stolid, try again, making the manipulations sooner. The effect of one organ is taken off by blowing on it, or exciting an opposing or counteracting one."

A curious incident in regard to this subject is mentioned by Braid, which bears out what Deleuze said about the magnetic potency of children. Braid says:—

"I was informed that a child, five years and a half old, who had been present when I exhibited the experiments on No. 1 (experiments in Phreno-hypnotism), the same evening had proposed to operate on her nurse. The nurse had no objection to indulge the girl, never supposing any effect would take place. However, it appeared she speedily closed her eyes, when the child, imitating what she saw me do, placed her finger on her forehead, and asked what she would like, when the patient answered 'to dance'; on trying another point the answer was 'to sing,' and the two then had a song together, after which the juvenile experimenter roused the patient in the same manner she had seen me do."

Braid attended Lafontaine's séance in 1841, and died in 1860,* but although constantly occupied with his "discovery" during the intervening nineteen years, he made little change either in his original ideas or in his practices as described in "Neurypnology." He therein summarises the following "points made out":—

"1. That the effect of a continual fixation of the mental and visual eye in the manner and with the concomitant

* Braid died of apoplexy on March 25th, 1860, aged 65. A few days before his death he sent a copy of his latest manuscript (an account of his various writings) to Dr. Azam, of Bourdeaux, who has recently died, a very old man.

circumstances pointed out, is to throw the nervous system into a new condition, accompanied with a state of somnolence, and a tendency, according to the mode of management, of exciting a variety of phenonema very different from those we obtain either in the ordinary sleep or in the waking condition.

"2. That there is at first a state of high excitement of all the organs of special sense, sight excepted, and a great increase of muscular power; and that the senses afterwards become torpid in a much greater degree than what occurs in natural sleep.

"3. That in this condition we have the power of directing or concentrating nervous energy, raising or depressing it in a remarkable degree at will, locally or generally.

"4. That in this state we have the power of exciting or depressing the force and frequency of the heart's action, and the state of the circulation locally or generally, in a surprising degree.

"5. That whilst in this peculiar condition we have the power of regulating and controlling muscular tone and energy in a remarkable manner and degree.

"6. That we also thus acquire a power of producing rapid and important changes in the state of the capillary circulation, and of the whole of the secretions and excretions of the body, as proved by the application of chemical tests.

"7. That this power can be beneficially directed to the cure of a variety of diseases which were most intractable, or altogether incurable by ordinary treatment.

"8. That this agency may be rendered available in moderating, or entirely preventing, the pain incident to patients while undergoing surgical operations.

"9. That during hypnotism, by manipulating the cranium and face, we can excite certain mental and bodily manifestations, according to the parts touched."

Braid discovered, after a time, that the "nervous sleep" was not absolutely necessary for a cure; his patients, in fact, sometimes denied that they were affected at all, until they found themselves actually cured. He also made some use latterly of verbal, or as he called it, "auricular" suggestion, with patients in the "sub-hypnotic" state—the state in which the eyes were open and the patient apparently awake—in

order to give them “dreams” which helped to excite or depress the system; but he never recognised the *direct* compelling power of Suggestion on mind and body for curative or other purposes. He employed passes in later years, but he is careful to explain that he used them only to direct the patient’s attention, and awaken his expectation; for Braid adopted to some extent Dr. Carpenter’s theory of “Expectant Attention”; not as an explanation of the phenomena, nor as necessary for their production, but as sometimes hastening their appearance.

To the end Braid stuck to his original theory. He maintained that by his method he attained “the great object of all medical treatment”; and in the “Monthly Journal of Medical Science” for July, 1853, he states that object thus:—

“The great object of all medical treatment is, either to excite or to depress function, or to increase or diminish the existing state of sensibility and circulation locally or generally, with the necessary attendant changes in the general, and more especially in the capillary circulation.”

In the same journal he wrote: “The results of my experiments prove the unity of mind, and the remarkable power of soul over body.” But he nowhere distinguishes intelligibly between “mind” and “soul”; and he had no idea of a connecting link between soul and body, in the shape of the “sub-conscious self,” or “submerged personality,” which plays so large a part in recent hypnotic speculation, as controlling and regulating organic life. This denial of any “inner senses” obliged him to attribute a prodigious extension to the ordinary senses during hypnotism. Magnetised water, Braid said, is

recognised by its smell, and acts through expectation.*

The Hypnotism of Braid, I must repeat, consisted in the production, by physical means, of two peculiar and opposite nervous states, during which the bodily functions are affected through the blood, the flow of which is regulated by the nervous force; for Braid believed as firmly as the magnetisers did in a nervous force; the circulation and operation of which nervous force, however, he thought, were confined to the body, as in the case with the circulation and operation of the blood; and he did not allow that the nervous force was influenced by the will, although he thought that it was so to some extent by expectation. It is not at all wonderful, therefore, that the magnetisers and the hypnotists should have been in irreconcilable opposition in regard to theory, for, as stated by Deleuze, the theory of Animal Magnetism is:—

“The magnetic fluid is constantly escaping from us; it forms around our bodies an atmosphere which, not having any determined current, does not act perceptibly upon the individuals round us; but when our will impels and directs it, it acts with all the force which we impart to it.”†

It is necessary, in estimating the importance of Braid's work, to distinguish between the value of his assertions and that of his denials. Mr. Waite tells

* It is quite possible that Braid got no striking results by the use of magnetised water, for he was not a magnetiser; Mr. Esdaile, who was one, thought differently.

† It was the opinion of Rostan, Reil, Authenreht, and Humboldt that the “nervous fluid,” secreted by the brain and cord, does not confine itself within the muscles and skin, but that it throws itself off with a certain degree of force, and thus forms a real nervous atmosphere—a sphere of activity similar to that which surrounds electrified bodies. This is in accordance with the experimental results obtained by Colonel de Rochas, Dr. Baraduc, and others.

us that he never actively opposed Mesmerism; and it is known that his enmity to Dr. Elliotson, whom he called an "ill-bred, vindictive, persecuting, mesmeric autocrat," was a personal matter. He seems, indeed, to have been on good terms with Garth Wilkinson, and other mesmerists, and only anxious to demonstrate to them the value of his "discovery." Dr. Gregory, for instance, in his "Letters to a Candid Inquirer," says of Braid: "I have had the pleasure of seeing that gentleman operate, and I most willingly bear testimony to the accuracy of his descriptions, and to the very striking results which he produces." Braid himself tells us that all he says in his writings refers only to phenomena produced by his own process; and this makes the strength, and also the weakness of his position: for there could be no stronger testimony than "I have always found it so," in the case of a person who relies exclusively on his own experiences. On the other hand, nothing could be weaker and less conclusive than "I never found it so," in the case of one who has not employed adequate means to find out whether it is "so" or not; and that is Braid's position towards, and his argument against, the "higher phenomena"; for he latterly said that those higher phenomena were not impossible, but were highly improbable, and not produced by his method. For instance he wrote:—

"The mesmerisers positively assert that they can produce certain effects which I have never been able to produce by my mode, although I have tried to do so. Now, I do not consider it fair or proper to impugn the statements of others in this matter who are known to be men of talent and observation, and of undoubted credit in other matters, merely because I have not personally witnessed the phenomena, or been able to produce them myself, either by my own mode or theirs."

Braid left no disciples; he founded no School. Soon after he died, Hypnotism was simply the name for a theory of the causes of certain strange phenomena which some people believed that Braid had produced in a certain strange way. In his "Elements of Hypnotism" (1893), Mr. Vincent says that it is difficult to explain how, after Braid's death, Hypnotism "came to be practically forgotten"; but there is no mystery about it, for long before his death both theory and phenomena had found rivals in other systems, and had become "practically" superseded by "Electro-biology," in which the subject remains in the "sub-hypnotic" condition.

It is a curious thing that the result of Braid's efforts should have been, not to obtain credence for Hypnotism, in the sole interests of which he worked so long and so steadily, but to discredit Animal Magnetism, towards which he was comparatively neutral. There are several reasons for this. In the first place, Braid, although he had some of the qualities of an explorer and adventurer, was in disposition more like a pioneer who pre-empt's new land, and is content to settle down on the portion he has staked out, and to cultivate it, without troubling himself about what might lie further afield. Moreover, he was not by nature a leader of men. He undoubtedly made an important "discovery," but he did not follow it up; and he was neither able nor willing to impose it upon others authoritatively. He demonstrated his discovery to those who came to see it, but he did not sally forth to do battle with the world on its behalf. In the second place, Braid did not put himself into violent opposition to the

Faculty, as Mesmer and most of the magnetisers did. Braid used Hypnotism to supplement, not to supersede, his regular medical practice; and he frequently repeats that he is not a rebel or seceder. For instance, in "Hypnotic Therapeutics," he says with emphasis:—

"It is indeed well-known that I use Hypnotism *alone* only in a certain class of cases, to which I have ascertained by experience that it is peculiarly adapted; that I use it in other cases *in conjunction with medicines*; whilst, *in the great majority of cases, I do not use Hypnotism at all*, but depend entirely upon the exhibition of medicines, which I administer in such doses as are calculated to produce obvious and sensible effects."

Some of his most marvellous cures were preceded by weeks of ineffectual dosing, blistering, and so on, until he seems to have suddenly remembered that there was such a thing as Hypnotism. One wonders whether this hesitation came from doubt about Hypnotism, or from fear of arousing the opposition of the Faculty, for, although he had a good deal of obstinate courage, he never showed any desire to be a martyr. In the third place, Braid offered what purported to be an explanation for the phenomena of Mesmerism, which had then become matters of common knowledge, thanks to the public exhibitions of Lafontaine and other "missionaires." That explanation was absurdly inadequate; but, as far as it went, it was almost reconcilable with existing medical beliefs and practices; and an acceptance of it did not involve any duty or responsibility. Braid, in fact, offered a compromise to those who were afraid of being convinced against their will by the mesmerists; and anyone who allowed himself to be inoculated with

Hypnotism was in future immune from the more serious disease of Animal Magnetism.

Braid's lack of enthusiasm gave the keynote to his followers ; and although we find that some men of scientific reputation, such as Sir Benjamin Brodie and Sir David Brewster, accepted Braid's views, at least provisionally, still Dr. Carpenter was almost his only follower of distinction who can be called a propagandist of Hypnotism.* It was Dr. Carpenter's article on Sleep in Todd's "Cyclopædia of Anatomy and Physiology" that called the attention of Doctor Azam to Hypnotism. But Dr. Carpenter had fish to fry of his own ; indeed, his theories of "Ideo-motor Action," and "Expectant Attention" took up a good deal of his frying-pan ! It was those theories that opened the door to verbal suggestion, and laid the foundation for the Suggestive Therapeutics of the Nancy School ; and it was from Electro-biology (which was in full swing during the last twelve years of Braid's life) that Dr. Carpenter took those two theories ; not from the ideas and practices of Braid, to which they are very little applicable ; for, as Dr. Philips (Durand de Gros) puts it in his "*Cours Théorique et Pratique de Braidisme*," published in the year in which Braid died :—

"What further characterises Electro-biology is that, while Mr. Braid and his disciples expect the desired effect from the spontaneity of the hypnotic state, Mr. Grimes and his imitators

* In a letter to the "Medical Times," Dr. Carpenter accounted for the apathy of his professional brethren thus :—
 "So long as public opinion is such that to uphold Mesmerism is to expose oneself to the imputation of being either credulous or unprincipled, it cannot be expected that those who depend for their livelihood on the estimation in which they are held should be very ready to place themselves in the way of thus losing caste among their brethren and the public."

know how to bring it about at will, by bringing into action the influence of verbal suggestion."

Braid is sandwiched in between the Mesmerisers and the Suggestionists, and he still acts as a diaphragm to keep them apart. He offered the same kind of passive resistance to Electro-biology that he did to Animal Magnetism; and in both cases the *name* seems to have prejudiced him against the *thing*. Braid's system is quite as different from that of our present hypnotists as the system of Mesmer was different from that of De Puységur; for suggestion bears much the same relation to the mechanical process of Braid that the will power and passes of the later magnetisers did to the original *baquets* and "chains." Neither Mesmer nor Braid received for their discoveries the recognition which those discoveries merited; and both discoveries—the "crisis" and the "nervous sleep"—are still waiting for intelligent investigation; for in both cases attention was drawn away from the original discovery before it had been studied and understood, and that caused the discovery to be neglected and forgotten.

Braid's experiments and successes brought the effect of "fascination" into strong relief. The fixation of the eye had already, under Ragazzoni and Lafontaine, become a principal part of the mesmeric process, and most of the phenomena of modern Hypnotism were known to the magnetisers as occurring in the stage of the magnetic sleep which precedes somnambulic lucidity. But early in the forties, as we have seen, Braid showed that these phenomena of fascination could be produced without the exercise of will, and without belief; and a good

many people began to experiment in fascination, without, however, accepting Braid's theories, or following his method very closely, and very soon two hypnotic states were generally recognised: the one, a condition of "nervous sleep," similar to that at which Braid aimed; the other, a "nervous" waking state, similar to Braid's "sub-hypnotic" condition; in both of which states "suggestibility" is very strongly developed. The nervous waking state lent itself admirably to public exhibitions, for the subject in that condition, when made the victim of even the most preposterous delusions, retains all the outward appearance of being in his ordinary condition, and quite believes himself to be so; and a series of hallucinations can then be given and removed without taking the subject out of the hypnotic condition. The nervous sleeping state was, soon after Braid's day, utilised by a few medical men, who employed suggestion to influence directly the various operations of organic life; but in that form, Hypnotism was too obviously connected with Animal Magnetism to engage the attention of the Faculty generally; and, even still, a disclaimer of Mesmerism is expected from the medical hypnotist.

The nervous waking state, or sub-hypnotic condition, was known to the old magnetisers, but neither they nor Braid made a study of it, both of them regarding it as a kind of useless "by-product." It was the Electro-biologists who brought that peculiar condition into prominence and demonstrated the extraordinary power of suggestion, and it is that power which these suggestions possess that is turned to account by our Suggestionists. Our present

hypnotists, in fact, merely apply the method of Electro-biology to the cure of disease. They are "changelings," not the real children of Braid.

The Statuvolism of Fahnstock.

Now, although Braid greatly influenced the evolution of Hypnotism in Europe, he was, as I have said, only one of several innovators who appeared and flourished about the same time, most of them, like Fahnstock and Sunderland, belonging to the United States. Dr. Theodore Leger, the "Psychodunamist," for instance, belongs to Braid's generation; he, however, was a magnetiser of De Puységur's school, for he was Deleuze's pupil and intimate friend (Deleuze died, a very old man, in 1833). Dr. Leger lectured and practised in the United States in 1844, accompanied by a medical clairvoyant who was remarkably successful. Although he was practically a simple magnetiser, he had some influence upon the march of events, especially in the United States, by the doubts he cast upon the theories of the magnetisers through his own metaphysical doctrines, and through his substitution of the name "Psychodunamy" (from *Psyche* soul, and *Dunamis* power) for "Animal Magnetism."

Another innovator belonging to Braid's generation was Dr. J. Rodes Buchanan, who, in 1841, put forward his system of "Neurology," afterwards called "Anthropology." While denying the theories of the magnetisers, and ridiculing their processes, Dr. Buchanan produced many of their phenomena by touching, or pointing at, various parts of the head

and body; and in his hands the methods of the magnetisers had results quite different from those which they produced in the magnetisers' own. Dr. Buchanan was the discoverer of Psychometry, a highly interesting form of clairvoyance belonging to the same group of psychic phenomena as crystal gazing. He also perfected a system of Phrenology, which differs from that of Gall, and is more elaborate; for Dr. Buchanan located a number of new organs by acting experimentally on various parts of the head; and it was by operating on the phrenological organs that he produced most of his phenomenal or "neurological" results. Although containing much that is instructive, Dr. Buchanan's Anthropology suffers a good deal from the tendency which its inventor, like all systematisers, evinces to believe too much in himself, and too little in other people. He was a very thorny subject for the other theorists to tackle, a regular anarchist in Psychology, a veritable bull in the Mesmeric "china shop," as is shown by a letter he wrote for publication regarding Laroy Sunderland in 1844. In it he says:—

"I do not perceive the necessity of new terms, such as Pathetism, for facts which were previously known under other names, such as Mesmerism, Neurology, &c. Neither do I think it makes any difference whether we suppose that we operate by a fluid or a solid, by mind or by matter, by an influence, an attraction, or a sympathy, or by nothing at all. This is one of the small points, which are hardly worthy of discussion at present. Nor do I think experiments worth much in themselves, unless they reveal something—unless they reveal the principles of physiology. My experiments do prove something: they establish a new system of Phrenology and Physiology."

Dr. Buchanan's method for putting his subject

into the hypnotic condition—which, though ridiculously simple, he found perfectly efficacious—was this:—

“Place your fingers gently in contact with the subject’s temples, about one or one and a-half inches horizontally behind the external angle of the brow on the temple, and you will in five or ten minutes bring on somnolence; to restore, brush off the influence, and place your hand on the upper part or occiput; if actually asleep, touch the middle of the forehead.”

One of the most remarkable of this group of innovators was Dr. William B. Fahnestock, a physician residing and practising in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, whose “Statuvolism” created considerable interest in the U.S. some fifty or sixty years ago, although but little known in Europe. The name is derived from *status* and *volo*, and signifies *a state, or peculiar condition, produced by the will*. In his book, “Statuvolism, or Artificial Somnambulism” (1869, though long before that time he had published pamphlets on the subject), Dr. Fahnestock says that he therein presents the result of thirty years of research and experience; and this gives him a few years’ priority of Braid. His system, however, is the very antithesis of that of Braid, for he makes use of a purely psychological method, without fixation of the eyes, or nervous or arterial changes; and also without the passes or contact of the magnetisers. He attributes nothing to physical causes; and although, to produce his results, he employs will and belief, still, the will at work, like the belief, is that of the subject, not of the operator; the only function of the operator, whom he called “the instructor,” being to arouse in the subject the consciousness of his own power and the desire to

exercise it. Dr. Fahnstock claimed that the statuvolic state is “independent of magnetism, electricity, galvanism, a nervous fluid, sympathy, or anything of the kind.” He maintained “that this is a state into which any person can throw himself at once, and awaken himself, either in part or the whole body at once, slowly or otherwise, independently of anyone else, or subject to anyone’s control.” In November, 1843, he wrote in the *Philadelphia Spirit of the Times*:—

“I have had over three hundred different individuals to enter this state under my care, and have found by innumerable experiments that they are entirely independent of me, and can enter this state, and awaken themselves whenever they please, notwithstanding all I can do to the contrary.”

But until the subject has recognised this power in himself, and has, as it were, taken hold of his own will, the assistance of another person is required by him in order to enter the statuvolic state. After entering the statuvolic state a few times with the help of his instructor, the subject can generally throw himself into that state at will; and then a little practice will enable him to do on his own initiative all the extraordinary things which he had previously done at the suggestion or “request” of his instructor. He can “throw his mind” to any distant place, and he will see, hear, feel, smell, and taste what is going on there—he will, in fact, be there *minus* his body; and while he is away his body will be without sensation, so that a surgical operation can be performed on it. Or he can read the thoughts of others by simply willing to do so. Or he can throw certain functions of the brain out of the statuvolic state, and live in a world from which they are eliminated.

Dr. Fahnstock considered the statuvolic condition a state similar to that which the magnetisers and mesmerists produced by their processes, but which state was quite misunderstood or misinterpreted by them. He says:—

“I have instituted many experiments to determine the cause of this condition, and all the facts gathered go to prove that the state can be entered by an act of the subject’s own will, or can be induced by the belief (on the part of the subject) that another person has the power of throwing him into it.”

Nevertheless, Fahnstock recognised a great difference between the statuvolic and the mesmeric conditions, although both are states of artificial somnambulism—that difference being that the subject in the former state feels himself free, in the latter the slave or “creature” of his magnetiser. Of the statuvolic state he says:—

“The operator has no power to produce this condition, and, independent of his instructions and his capability of managing them (the subjects) when in it, has nothing to do with it. His health, temperament, age, etc., as a matter of course, are also immaterial, so that his intelligence, mental character, and knowledge, be of such a nature as to be worthy of the trust placed in him; his skill in managing persons and curing diseases, etc., will depend entirely upon his knowledge of the state, his acquaintance with the nature of diseases, and his intelligence and tact in fixing and properly directing the minds of his patients. Physicians are best calculated for this purpose, and should always be preferred if they have made the subject their study.”

A great many authorities on Hypnotism have drawn up tables showing the percentages of those whom they found susceptible to Hypnotism in different degrees, which tables differ very materially both in regard to the number who are not susceptible and the percentages noted at different degrees of susceptibility. Dr. Fahnstock does not give any table of the kind, but it is evident from the general

tenour of his work that a very large percentage of those he operated on went into "the state" in a very few trials, and that it was only a question of a little patience to get the refractory ones also to do so. Of susceptibility he says:—

"I have never found any perceptible difference in what has been called the susceptibility of persons of different temperaments, and I have had as many of the bilious, bilious-nervous, or bilious-nervous-sanguine, to enter it as of any other temperaments. Too much stress has been laid upon this subject by those who have hitherto written upon it, no doubt from an anxiety to account for the failures which they often experienced. Nor have I observed much difference between the readiness with which it is entered by the different sexes. I have found some men of opposite temperaments to enter this state more readily than some women of the same temperaments and *vice versa*, and I believe that what is called susceptibility, or readiness to enter it, depends *more* upon the *state of the subject's mind at the time of trial*, than upon sex, temperament, phrenological development, etc. Noise, being afraid of it, an over anxiety to enter it, risibility, and, in fact, any other mental excitement, is unfavourable to its accomplishment and should always be avoided as much as possible. Very old persons and children under eight or ten years, from a want of sufficient steadiness, knowledge, and determination, cannot often be induced to enter it perfectly."

Dr. Fahnestock thought that the condition of Staturolism which his process induces is the perfect and proper form of the somnambulic state, the somnambulism induced by the usual means being an imperfect and distorted staturolic condition. He says:—

"Various methods have been employed by different operators to induce this state. Those of modern magnetisers are scarcely less absurd than that employed by Mesmer and his immediate followers. Some operators of the present day, who believe in a magnetic influence, still pursue the ludicrous method of sitting down opposite the patient, holding his thumbs, staring into his eyes, and making passes, etc., until the desired object is effected. Others, who believe looking to be essential, direct the patient to look at some object intently until the lids close and the patient

becomes unconscious. Very few, however, can be induced to enter the state in any of the above ways, and those who do usually fall into the *sleeping condition* of this state, and are generally dull, listless, and are seldom good clairvoyants. The most rational, certain, and pleasant way of inducing this state which I have discovered is the following:—When persons are desirous of entering this state I place them upon a chair where they may be at perfect ease. I then request them to close the eyes at once and to remain perfectly calm, at the same time that they let the body lie perfectly still and relaxed. They are next instructed to throw their minds to some familiar place—it matters not where, so that they have been there before, and seem desirous of going again, even in thought. When they have thrown the mind to the place, or upon the desired object, I endeavour, by speaking to them frequently, to keep their mind upon it, viz.: I usually request them to place themselves (in thought) close to the object or person they are endeavouring to see. This must be persevered in for some time, and when they tire of one thing, or see nothing, they must be directed to others successively, as above directed, until clairvoyancy is induced. When this has been effected, the rest of the senses fall into line at once or by slow degrees—often one after another, as they are exercised or not—sometimes only one sense is affected at the first sitting. If the attention of the person is divided, the difficulty of entering the state perfectly is much increased and the powers of each sense, while in this state, will be in proportion as that division has been much or little.”

He says that several persons whom he had a difficulty with at first have told him that had he not interfered with them in some way they would have got into the state in the first sitting. “This shows,” he says, “that those who do not enter it in one or two sittings must do something to prevent it.” He does not say that *the operator* must have interfered by unconsciously doing something to prevent it, for it is the subject himself who acts in the matter:—

“As this state is one that depends entirely upon the state of the subject’s mind, and is brought about by an act of his own will and not by that of the operator, it must be evident to

every intelligent mind that all that the operator can do, independent of the instructions which he may give, or the care he may take of them, etc., is perfectly useless and ought to be dispensed with. I have found that persons always enter this state better without any contact, looking, passes, or anything of the kind, particularly when they are assured that they have some competent person to take care of and converse with them while in it."

Although the subject passes insensibly from voluntarily picturing or visualising places or persons to actually seeing them, the passage is accompanied by characteristic sensations:—

"The sensations experienced by those who enter this state are variously described by different subjects; but most commonly they agree that after the eyes are closed and they have been endeavouring to see for a longer or shorter period, a drowsiness ensues, accompanied by more or less swimming of the head and a tingling sensation creeping over the whole body. Some experience a feeling of sinking down, as if they were passing through the floor; others, again, feel light as a feather and seem to ascend, or to be suspended in the air. Some start and twitch involuntarily in various parts of their body, while in others the breathing is more or less affected, but there is no necessity for their feeling unpleasant in any way. Some feel warm, others cold, but none of the sensations are described as being unpleasant; and when the state is entered perfectly the feelings are said to be delightful."

To know how to awaken the subject has always been considered a very important matter by the mesmerisers. There are many accounts of persons who were ignorant of Magnetism putting someone to sleep and not knowing how to awaken him; indeed, that accident is reckoned among the "dangers" of Magnetism. No such danger exists in Statuvolism, for the subject awakens himself:—

"All that is needful, when it becomes necessary that they should awake, is to ask them whether they are ready or willing to do so, and if they are, I direct them to do so at once and they will awaken at the word Now! in an instant. If, however,

you should desire to awaken them and they are not willing, it will be found impossible to do so contrary to their will, and you will be obliged to await their pleasure."

It is said by many magnetisers that it is a constant and peculiar feature of somnambulism that the subject on awakening does not remember anything he has said or done in the sleep, or any vision he may have had. This loss of memory the magnetisers were able to some extent to overcome by extracting from the subject while in the somnambulist state a promise that he would remember; and hypnotists are generally able to make memory continuous by suggesting to the subject before awakening him that he will remember. On this subject Fahnestock says:—

"Before they awake I commonly request them to remember how they felt, and what they saw, &c., or they may not know anything about it when they do awake; particularly if it be their first sitting. With some this is not necessary after the first or second sitting, as they commonly make up their minds to do so of their own accord."

He goes on to say that in some rare cases the subject, do what he may, cannot remember when he awakens; while in other cases, he can remember just so much as he likes, forgetting, if he chooses, whatever is likely to cause him annoyance if remembered. On this he remarks:—

"This quality or power of the mind while in this condition enables them to *create* pain or feel pleasure at will, and if they imagine or determine that there is, or shall be, pain or disease in any part of the body, that pain or disease will certainly be felt at the time and place designated, and will continue until the mind acts, or is directed, so as to alter the condition. This peculiar power of the mind, while in this state, I have taken advantage of to cure diseases, and if the mind be properly directed while in this state, so as to make them resolve to be well, pains, contracted habits, or diseases are removed by an act

of their will, as if by magic, and will last until the conditions are changed or altered by influencing causes, or by a positive act of the subject's will."

This was written in 1843, and in 1869, when his book was published, he accentuates this idea about the cure of disease in the following italicised passage:—

"The mere entering this state will not relieve disease. It requires that the mind of the patients, while in this condition, should be directed to the disease, and a desire, or a resolution, formed on their part that it shall be otherwise when they awake. It is no matter whether this resolution be taken or be made independent of the instructor or not, the effect will be the same; but it is the duty of every person into whose care they entrust themselves to see that it is properly done before they awake, or no beneficial effect will follow. Great care should also be taken that they do not imagine, resolve, think, fear, or believe that they will feel ill or badly when they awake, or this will certainly be the case. I have seen these effects upon many occasions, even in healthy persons who feared or conceived that they would be so."

Dr. Fahnstock agreed perfectly with the Royal Commissioners of 1784, that "Magnetism has no agency in producing this condition," but he did not attribute it, as the Royal Commissioners did, to "imagination, imitation, and touch," but to the subject's own will, exercised *unconsciously* in Mesmerism and *consciously* in Statuvolism. The hypnotists of the Nancy school would quite agree with him when he says:—

"The effects ascribed to it (Animal Magnetism) were absolutely the result of belief that certain effects would follow certain operations, and not the effects of any foreign cause; and until the miserable belief in a magnetic fluid is abandoned, or eradicated from the mind of man, we will have unnecessary suffering, and the world will be deprived of the superior benefits which a properly directed mind (while in the somnambulic condition) would have upon disease. This is the grand secret of curing diseases, and all that has ever been effected by entering this condition has been effected by the mind of the *subject* while

in that state—not knowingly, however, but in many cases by bringing the mind accidentally to bear upon it. How much more ought we to expect under the proper management of the mind while in that condition? The sooner, therefore, that we do away with all passes and useless operations of every kind, the sooner we will act like rational beings, and reap the benefits of a regenerated science.”

It is certain, however, that Fahnstock would not look with much more favour on our modern hypnotists than he did on the mesmerisers, for although the hypnotists attribute the effects they produce to the action of the subject’s own mind, they consider themselves necessary for the setting up of that action, and the consequence is that they reduce the subject to a state of “bondage,” depriving him of his free-will and initiative, then declaring that this automatism is a characteristic of “hypnosis.” Our present hypnotists would certainly be included among those whom Dr. Fahnstock condemns in the following passage :—

“At the time when Mesmer revived the science, the magnetisers, as well as the world at large, knew very little about the science, or the extraordinary phenomena, powers, &c., belonging or peculiar to persons in that state, and their experiments were made to ascertain its cause before they knew its effects. This has, unfortunately for the science, been the case with most experimenters from that time until the present day, and many other theories, equally untrue and unfounded, have, phoenix-like, arisen and are still supported by their respective adherents.”

To shut the eyes and imagine to oneself that one sees, hears, and feels what is going on at some distant or well-known place, is a method of developing clairvoyance that is practised by some persons; the effect is that gradually you begin to visualise the scenes you are picturing to yourself, and then they become alive or self-moving. When

this occurs sleep supervenes and dream takes place. To become clairvoyant it is necessary to keep in so far awake as to retain a consciousness of one's circumstances and surroundings. It is evident that the method of entering the statuvolic condition is similiar to this; but the clairvoyant condition is a more superficial state, an arrest of development of statuvolism at a certain stage. The way in which we commonly speak of these states of consciousness is misleading, for we say that a person becomes clairvoyant in the mesmeric sleep; but the mesmeric or statuvolic condition is not a sleep in the sense of an alternative and opposite state to the waking state. That condition is one which partakes of some of the characteristics of both sleeping and waking; and the magnetisers recognise the process of magnetising as a putting to sleep of the outer or normal senses and an awakening subsequently or simultaneously of the inner senses—*powers* of sight, hearing, touch, etc., the exercise of which does not, it appears, necessarily depend upon the activity of the bodily sense organs—the complete awakening of these inner senses being perfect lucidity. In former times this power of sensation without the instrumentality of the usual organs of sense was considered a “power of the soul,” but when men of science began to doubt whether they had any souls, that way of speaking fell into disrepute, and now that the doubt has become actual disbelief, to attribute the inner senses to the soul is considered unscientific and superstitious. The soul, in fact, has now been carefully separated from the body and handed over to religion to do what it likes with it; and the body

has become the special concern of the physiologist, who tells the religionist that he has no use for the soul and to keep it to himself. But it has happened that when Religion and Science have each carried off its share, there remains behind a considerable portion of the human being which neither of them are anxious to claim, because they have nowhere to put it and don't exactly know what to do with it.

With this part the magnetisers, mesmerists, hypnotists, and "Psychical researchers" in general, are now occupying themselves, but its existence was, until quite recently, strenuously denied both by the religionists and the scientists; at present, however, it is becoming evident to both of them that this physic residue of man is not entirely separable from either body or soul, but, on the contrary, has so great a natural attraction for both, that it has become doubtful whether the division between them can be made permanent, and thus a reconstruction of the human being prevented which will embody both body and soul in one comprehensive entity—a soul without a body of some kind, being as unthinkable as a body without a soul. In this synthesis the physic constituent of man plays a very important part; in fact, it is hardly too much to say that those who hold possession of the *psyche* command the whole field, for neither the scientists nor the religionists can do without it, and will, however reluctantly, have to make the best terms they can with it. Until it be understood and recognised that the psyche, with which Hypnotism in its different forms concerns itself, is distinct both from the body with which physiologists occupy themselves, and from the soul

about which the religionists talk, the present confusion and the present ignorance will prevail; and the first thing to do in order to promote that understanding, and to secure that recognition, is to mentally realise the fact that neither our physics nor our metaphysics are applicable in the matter, but that we must be content to accept the facts which have come to light and others that will follow them, as *ultimate facts* of Nature, or at least as capable of explanation only by the laws, at present almost unknown, which rule in that particular province. Hitherto, for instance, we have conceived only two conditions of existence, waking and sleeping; so when we find that a person who is undoubtedly in a state of sleep, acts as if he were undoubtedly awake, we consider it an absurd contradiction, an impossibility, and a fraud, and we conclude that those who deny that there is any fraud in it are either fools and dupes, or liars and dupers—the only alternative being a miracle, that is to say, the direct action of God or Devil. That, in fact, is exactly the position which both Science and Religion have hitherto taken up in the matter; and it will some day seem, even to the “man in the street,” almost inconceivable that our wise ones should have been such egregious fools, just as it seems to us now almost incomprehensible that our forefathers could not conceive a globular earth, and thought that anyone who maintained that the world was not flat was fit for a lunatic asylum.

The first thing we have to do, therefore, is to recognise a condition of consciousness, the phenomena of which are at the same time similiar to and different from those of our ordinary state of consciousness;

and which other state of consciousness is not abnormal in the sense of being unnatural or morbid, but only abnormal (if it can so be called at all) in the sense of being unusual. The magnetisers did not express the true condition of affairs by saying that in the magnetic state the outer senses are put to sleep and the inner senses are awakened, for that left it an open question whether the subject, when magnetised, is asleep or awake, and this implied that in either case he was in an unnatural condition—neither truly awake, not truly asleep—which had to be paradoxically described as a sleep which the deeper it grows the more wide awake the sleeper becomes. Fahnstock perceived the necessity of regarding the statuvolic state as a condition of consciousness different from that which the Ego assumes in the ordinary state and not as a modification of the ordinary state, or a peculiar kind of sleep, either mesmeric sleep as the magnetisers said, or “nervous sleep” as Braid called it. Fahnstock says:—

“The somnambulic state has also its own sleep or condition of perfect rest, in which all the faculties are sometimes wrapped, and I have frequently been obliged to indulge subjects in what they call “sleep” while in the waking condition of this state. They seem to be able to fall into this unconscious sleep at pleasure, and frequently have to be aroused, as out of natural sleep. When aroused, however, they awake into the somnambulic and not into the natural state. . . . It is evident, therefore, that this state has also two conditions, viz., a waking state and a sleeping state. The former may be entered without losing or forgetting themselves, and is generally entered first, particularly when the patient has been frequently spoken to while entering it. The latter cannot be entered without losing or forgetting themselves, and is the state into which many subjects usually fall when not spoken to while entering it, and out of which they would sooner or later awake, without any knowledge of having been in it, if not spoken to during the sleep.”

The function of the "instructor" is first to lead his subject into the statuvolic state, and then to induce him to exercise his own will in order to produce the various mental and bodily effects upon himself; and before the subject is thrown into the statuvolic state, it is necessary to explain to him the nature of that state, the extent of his power over himself, and the *rationale* of the process; for, according to Dr. Fahnstock, the phenomena always conform to the belief and expectation of the subject. He attributes the "crises" of Mesmer to the belief of the patients that they would occur; and he explains in the same way the efficacy of the fixation of the eye, of the passes, and of the other operations of the magnetisers. For the same reason, the subject who believes that when he goes into the state variously termed magnetic, mesmeric, and hypnotic, he will be under the control of the operator, finds himself actually under that control; for, not being aware in the hypnotic state that he could exercise power over himself, he does not attempt to do so. The magnetised subject, in fact, puts the reins into the hands of his magnetiser before he goes to sleep; while the statuvolised subject retains them in his own hands all the time.

Fahnstock's subjects, or "patients" as he generally called them, could often throw themselves unaided into the statuvolic condition; but they had first, as a rule, to be statuvolised several times by someone else; and people who have often been mesmerised can also sometimes induce the mesmeric condition in themselves. Moreover, all the old magnetisers, as I have said, recognised the process

of magnetising as a putting to sleep of the outer and an awakening of the inner senses—the complete awakening of all the inner senses being perfect lucidity. That process is precisely what Fahnstock employed with his subjects and taught or enabled them to employ for themselves; and therefore the regular or professed magnetisers very naturally said that he was an unconscious magnetiser himself who used a particular and unusual method, which an imperfect knowledge of magnetism, or a desire to be peculiar, caused him to call by another name. Fahnstock denied that he used will power; but he had always a strong expectation that he would succeed, an expectation which, when accompanied by desire, as it naturally was in his case, has the same effect as will, and seems to be practically the same thing.

Fahnstock, like Mesmer and Braid, and indeed like all who have investigated the subject independently, formed a definite theory from facts that came under his observation, and that theory, once formed, acted as a limitation to his mental vision, and to his experiments. By his method of procedure he produced a peculiar state, and he studied that state attentively, and reduced everything he came across to the terms of that state; and any phenomenon not explicable by the laws which he believed to govern that state, he ignored, or slurred over. Many of his objections to the theories of the Mesmerisers are exceedingly plausible, but even if we allow them to hold good, they do not apply at all to some mesmeric phenomena which Fahnstock does not mention, nor to all the instances of the

mesmeric phenomena to which he does allude. The Statuolism of Fahnstock seems, in fact, to be a definite state of the mind and body; but only one of several others, which are all now jumbled together under the name of "Hypnotism," and which, even when their differences are recognised, are now regarded as "stages" of hypnosis rather than as distinct states of consciousness or being. One of the most singular and puzzling phenomena of Magnetism is the transposition of the senses to various parts of the body. This phenomenon sometimes occurs spontaneously in catalepsy, especially if it be accompanied by hysteria, and in such cases the senses are usually transplanted to the pit of the stomach, or the ends of the fingers, or the soles of the feet, the subject hearing and seeing at those points, and not through the natural organs. Fahnstock's subjects, according to his reiterated assertions, were able to "throw their minds" to any place they wished, which "place" might be any part of their own bodies, and this throwing of the mind implied the throwing at the same time of the senses; consequently the transposition of the senses was nothing new, nor particularly strange, for him. He quotes at some length the case of Mlle. Melanie, of Caen, reported by Dr. Durand in 1841, in which there was transposition of some of the senses to the pit of the stomach and the soles of the feet, and says:—

"I ascribe the above results to the manner in which the doctor proceeded, and they would have been much more perfect if he had understood her powers. He succeeded in drawing her attention to her stomach, and found that she answered questions correctly, which he, not knowing better, had addressed to that part.

She could have answered the same questions just as well if he had applied his lips to any other part of the body, because all persons in this state possess such powers ; and I have seen the same transposition effected by the will of the subject, in many cases of artificial somnambulism, by simply requesting them to throw their minds to the stomach, or any other part of the body. She could have done the same if she had attempted it, either at his request or of her own accord."

The subject's muscles were, in the case of Mlle. Melanie, sometimes cataleptic, sometimes relaxed, and sometimes rigid, and Fahnstock attributes this to her not attending to the matter, nor exercising any will. She distinguished various objects when applied to the soles of her feet, and on this point Fahnstock remarks :—

"I have seen all the above peculiarities in persons who were in a state of artificial somnambulism, and have performed many similar experiments with many of them, not only in the above manner, but also by placing things on the various parts of their bodies, and directing their attention to them. The experiments succeeded just as well when the articles were placed at a distance as well as when in actual contact with their bodies. If the snuff which was placed to the soles of Mlle. Melanie's feet had been taken to the next room and her mind properly directed to it, she could have distinguished between the French and the English kinds as well as if placed on what he supposed to be the only sensitive parts. Her failing in many of the experiments made to test her powers of vision was owing to the doctor not drawing her attention to them properly, or to a carelessness or unwillingness on her part to do them all."

Fahnstock relates how on one occasion he brought a cataleptic patient out of the condition of somnambulism (natural or spontaneous), and his remarks are very instructive. The patient was a girl, 17 years old, who had had repeated attacks of hysteria from being frightened by tales of witches. He says :—

“While in this condition she was perfectly rigid and motionless, with an *apparent* suspension of all the senses. I relieved her, however, instantly by stating aloud (so that she might hear it, if paying attention to me) that I could do so by placing my hand upon her forehead. No sooner had I done so than she awoke, and although somewhat confused in her ideas, and having a silly expression, she gradually recovered, and has since remained entirely free from it. I relieved her because she *believed* that I could. If she had not had that belief, or had not been paying attention to me, I might have worked with her for hours, or even days, without effect, as those who attended her had frequently done before. Such is the power of the mind in this state, not only over affections of this kind, but over many others which are usually considered diseases. The power or influence of the mind over like diseases in our waking moments has been much overlooked, and the influence is a hundred fold greater when in a state of artificial somnambulism. I have lately seen many affections, which were considered incurable, yield to the proper direction of the subject’s mind while in a somnambulic state, after long and skilful courses of medicine had entirely failed. It is not imagination, however, that produces these effects, but a fixed and determined resolution, on the part of the subjects, that it shall be otherwise when they awake.”

Intuition, which Mesmer and many magnetisers placed higher than reason, Fahnstock did not believe in at all. He even denies it to the animals. He criticises Teste’s enthusiastic belief in it, quoting from his book, and remarks:—

“When somnambulists enter the state under the *belief* that they have such extraordinary powers, as Dr. Teste has ascribed to them, whatever they may say or predict shall happen to themselves, will certainly take place; but what they may say or predict of any other person will generally be incorrect, particularly if that person has not been made acquainted with what has been said. This proves that *what they determine upon is the cause of the effect upon themselves*, and consequently *is a result of a pre-determination on their part* that it shall be so. . . . It is very evident to my mind that intuition plays no part in obtaining correct information of any kind, and that all that is or can be obtained by somnambulists or persons in any other state is through the senses or faculties properly so called.”

We have seen that Braid attributed the supposed clairvoyant forecasts or prophecies of somnambules to the exercise of their sharpened perceptive and reasoning faculties, which makes it seem pretty certain that he never examined a case which experienced mesmerisers would certify as one of true clairvoyance; and the same may be said of Fahnestock, for he, like Braid, attributes prophecies and forecasts to hyper-acute sensation, with this difference, however, that Fahnestock alludes to the inner senses, whereas Braid does not allow that such things as inner senses exist, and refers the forecasts to the marvellously "extended" ordinary senses. Fahnestock says:—

"I deny that it is possible for the best somnambulists to do what has been above ascribed to them. They can estimate or guess as well as when awake; but if they are not very careful they may be as often wrong as in the natural state; I admit that all their faculties, while in this state, are capable of becoming more active than when awake; and on that account they may often have, perhaps, estimated better than they could have done when in a natural state; but I deny that they have, or can gain, any correct knowledge by what is called intuition or instinct. The words intuition and instinct are understood to mean knowledge not obtained by deduction of reason; or an internal impulse to act in a certain way in ignorance of the cause."

Presentiments which are not prophetic, Fahnestock attributes to clairvoyant perceptions during sleep, which when remembered on awakening are considered dreams, and when not remembered affect the mind as presentiments—as when a person on a journey has a feeling that someone is ill at home, and hurrying there finds it so. It is the custom now to discount or minimise all the ideas and experiences of the investigators of former years on

the plea that they were not "scientific"; it may be interesting, therefore, to quote a sample of the experiments on which Fahnestock built his theories. Here is an experiment in regard to the sense of vision:—

"It was agreed between a gentleman and myself, to test clairvoyance at a distance of sixty miles, that when in Philadelphia he was to visit a certain house known to me, and there do certain things which he was to determine upon and note. I, being in Lancaster, was to have one of my subjects, who had never been in Philadelphia, to say what he was doing there at a certain time. He departed from the city in the morning train, and in the evening of the same day Miss Z— entered this state the twelfth time, and when taken in thought to the appointed place, she declared that he was not there: that the house was closed and not occupied."

"This seemed strange, as it was the time we had set, and I could not think that he had forgotten his engagement, nor could I tell why the house should be closed. Under these circumstances, I was at a loss to know what I should do, and although I had the utmost confidence in her powers, having sufficiently tested them before, I was not yet prepared to believe that she could find him in a city where she had never been herself. But as I could lose nothing but the time spent in the experiment, I desired her to see whether she could find him. After three or four minutes had elapsed she said that she had found him, and that he was in the third story of a house, in a room alone, containing one bed, several chairs, a bureau, and a wash-stand, etc., and that he was standing up at a covered bureau, with a parcel of papers spread before him, and that he was figuring with his pencil. After a few minutes, she remarked that 'He is now gathering up his papers! now he is going down stairs; now into the street; and down the street; he is now about to enter a large building; he is speaking to someone at the door; it is Mr. L——, I know him; now he is inside. This must be the theatre,' and, as if speaking to Mr.——, she said: 'take a seat Mr.——.' She then described the house and said it was crowded.

"The following is Mr.——'s account, which I received just after he stepped out of the car, where I had gone to meet him, upon his return to Lancaster:—

"'I arrived in the city of Philadelphia about the usual hour, and while down street that afternoon attending to some business,

I ascertained that the house I intended visiting in the evening, for the purpose of performing my part of the experiment, was closed. I therefore, of course, could not go there, but went to my boarding-house, and as I thought that I had lost ten dollars in one of my transactions that afternoon, I retired to my room, in the third story of the house, for the purpose of finding out where the mistake lay, and at the time appointed for the experiment I was standing at a covered bureau, with my papers spread out before me, and figuring with my pencil to find out the error. Finding all correct, however, I concluded to go to the theatre, and gathering up my papers, I went there, met and spoke to Mr. L—— at the door, and then entered the theatre, which I found very crowded. My chamber contained but one bed, a bureau, a wash-stand, and two or three chairs.”

The following is the account of an experiment with smell and taste :—

“ Subject, Mrs. H——. Having tried quite a number of experiments at short distances, I was anxious to try this lady's powers, which are extraordinary, at a greater distance; consequently I obtained three vials, as nearly alike as possible. I filled the first with spirits of camphor, the second with essence of peppermint, and the third with pure water. All were white and colourless. The vials were then corked, securely sealed, and thoroughly mixed, so that it was impossible to tell the one from the other. In this condition they were given to my wife, with instructions that after I left home she (my wife) was to place the vials promiscuously upon a certain shelf in my office, four or five feet apart, and to leave them in the same position until I returned home next day. The subject, Mrs. H—— was being treated for a nervous affection which rendered her both blind and lame, but was at this time almost entirely restored through somnambulism.

“ My visits to her at this time were made every third day, and as I usually remained all night on these occasions, we had plenty of time for experiments during the evening. I arrived there early, and supper being over, as usual she entered the condition, and after some experiments in clairvoyance which were very satisfactory, I turned her mind to the vials which I had requested my wife to place upon the shelf agreed upon. She stated at once that she saw them, and described their position. I then directed her to cast her mind into the first vial, which stood to the left as she faced the shelf, and then to taste and smell what it contained. After she had done so,

she stated that the first bottle to the left ‘tastes and smells like camphor.’ I then remarked that I wanted her to be certain in regard to the contents of the vials, as the experiment was an important one, and would settle a great question in my mind. Upon which she again stated that the first vial to the left contained spirits of camphor; the second or middle one, on the right of the first, she examined for some time, and then stated that she saw there was something in it, but that it had no taste or smell. The third, without any hesitation, she declared contained essence of peppermint.

“Upon my return home next morning, to my great surprise I found that her answers were correct, viz.: that the first vial to the left contained the spirits of camphor, the second or middle one the water, and the third to the right the essence of peppermint. The distance between the subject and the vials was about seven miles.”

Dr. Fahnstock gives a few “cases” of cure in his book, which, however, are too popularly and loosely described to satisfy us who belong to this critical generation, trained to scepticism and to a *primâ facie* disbelief in the statements of our neighbours. I shall quote a sample, however, begging the reader to remember that Dr. Fahnstock was in practice as an orthodox physician, and used Staturolism only occasionally, and at the time of which he writes (1843) chiefly experimentally. He says :—

“Miss A. P.— was seized with a high fever, accompanied with violent headache, giddiness, and restlessness in Oct. 1843, which continued unabated for three days and nights. I was not sent for till the evening of the third day. I found her labouring under a high fever, was very restless, and described her head as being ‘ready to split’ with pain. As she was *very much* opposed to taking medicine, and had often, out of curiosity, been in a state of artificial somnambulism months before, I proposed that she should enter that state. She at first objected, as she said it was impossible for her to enter it so long as her head ached as much as it did at that time.

“I told her she had but one choice besides, and that was a dose of medicine. The thought of medicine decided the question,

and, after a third attempt, she threw herself into it in less than a minute. Upon asking her how she felt, she said she was somewhat relieved, but still felt the pain along the side and back part of her head. I directed her to throw her mind upon something else, and not to think of her head; and, as soon as she had done so, she was entirely relieved, and declared that she did not feel a particle of pain.

"Five minutes had not elapsed since she was awake, sick, and suffering torments; now she was well, lively, and, as usual in health, began to laugh and talk as if nothing had been the matter with her, occasionally joking about the medicine, saying that 'this medicine (viz., somnambulism) is very easily taken, and I shall therefore prefer it on all occasions.'

"She remained in the state about half-an-hour, and after directing her to forget or throw off her disease, I requested her to awake, with the understanding that she should remain well when she did awake. She awoke perfectly relieved, and in fine spirits. I saw her during the day, and found her as I had left her in the morning—well, sprightly, and ready for her usual vocations. She never had any return of her disease, and the only thing that I regret, in connection with her case, is that the whole world did not witness as I did *the triumph of mind over positive disease.*"

It is necessary before dismissing Fahnstock, to glance at his theory. From the standpoint of the old Physiology, which knows nothing of "inner senses," he is a psychologist; from the standpoint of the new Psychology, with its "astral body" and "sub-conscious self," he is a physiologist. Without committing himself to any definite philosophical doctrine, Fahnstock regarded the brain as the organ of mind, and all his experiments are based upon the idea that a person can, by some power or process still not understood, "throw his mind," or some faculty such as sight or hearing, to a distance. It is not easy to understand why a person should not be considered to be actually present at a distant place when he has thrown all his faculties there, and can see, hear, taste, smell, and feel at any

distance, as if actually present ; but Fahnstock does not take that view, presumably because the subject, although “present” at a distance, is conscious that he is at home talking to his “instructor” all the time, a condition of double consciousness that is characteristic of Psychometry ; and this seems to have precluded the consideration of an extremely interesting point, namely, the *action* at a distance of the subject, who is seemingly to all other intents and purposes *there present*. Fahnstock describes cases in which the subject spoke as if addressing someone he saw at a distance, but it does not seem to have struck him to ask, “Does he hear you ?” or “What does he reply ?” We must remember that in both mesmeric and hypnotic trance, the sub-conscious personality of the subject is supposed to be able to communicate with the sub-conscious personality of a person at a distance. Fahnstock, like Braid, believed that he had overwhelming evidence that certain faculties are lodged (so to speak) in definite parts of the brain, but he thought that those faculties are excited only by the subject’s attention being turned to them, or, as he expressed it, his mind being *thrown into that part of the brain*. By “faculty” he did not mean the actual fact of sight, hearing, taste, and so on, but the different powers or qualities which Phrenology represents as located in the different organs. He says :—

“All the organs or fundamental faculties of the brain, I conceive, possess certain kinds of action independent of what is called mere ‘intuitive perception,’ or knowledge obtained through the external senses, and that each faculty is composed of certain functions which together constitute a faculty. The peculiar

functions belonging to each faculty, properly so called, I conceive to consist of the following, viz.: Consciousness, Attention, Perception, Memory, Association, Likes, Dislikes, Judgment, Imagination, and Will. These functions I conceive to be peculiar in each faculty, and that each faculty is only capable of attending to, perceiving, remembering, liking, judging, or associating, etc., those things or ideas that relate or are adapted to their peculiar capacities—and hold that it is impossible for any faculty to perceive, judge, or remember anything that belongs to the province of another. Benevolence cannot perceive size or form.”

Fahnstock then examines the different “functions” at some length, but I can only mention here that he regards Will as “the power which renders all the other functions active or passive and is reciprocally affected by all the rest, particularly by the judgment.” He then proceeds to consider “The functions when in a state of artificial somnambulism.” Of Perception, for instance, he says:—

“The powers of perception in this state, compared with the same function in a natural state, are inconceivably greater, and it is almost impossible for those who have not seen or made the necessary experiments to conceive the difference. Language fails to express it, and our common philosophy is too circumscribed to explain the reality.”

It is to “perception” that he attributes the power to translate the sense perceptions to different parts of the body or to a distance. But he gives warning that the subject cannot always be trusted:—

“Their not seeing, tasting, smelling, etc., truly, sometimes is owing to their own imagination; because when persons are in a state of artificial somnambulism, they can see, taste, smell, etc., what they imagine, as well as they can that which really exists; and therefore, if they are not very careful to look before they imagine, they may see or taste falsely respecting what exists, but yet truly what they imagine. It is very difficult (for them) to tell when they do the one and when they do the other, and it is yet to be learned whether cultivation will produce perfection. Practice will, no doubt, much improve it, and I have always observed that when the subjects were themselves interested

in looking, tasting, etc., the result was more satisfactory; showing that it requires that they should not only guard against their imagination, but that it also requires their whole attention to perceive correctly. If they are indifferent or unwilling to perform experiments their answers cannot be depended on.

This disturbing exercise of the imagination may be simple invention on the part of the subject, too lazy or too tired to look intently, or it may come from the verbal or mental suggestion of some other person. This mental suggestion, however, is in its place a most interesting subject, for it is the basis of "thought reading," and it is this power of seeing what is in his mind (not necessarily in the actual thought) that enables the operator to take a clairvoyant subject on a journey; in that case the clairvoyant, as it were, lets go of the operator's thought when arrived at the desired place and looks about for himself. Of Will, while in the statuvolic state, Fahnstock says:—

"The will is paramount in this state and controls the activity of all the functions. The will to see, hear, feel, taste, smell, or move, etc., depends upon the activity of this function, influenced or not by the judgment in one or more of the faculties, and is exercised or not according to the determination to do the one or the other. It is supremely independent of the will of the operator or any other person; and when the subject is acquainted with the true nature of the sleep and his powers therein, before he enters it, it is impossible to impose upon him or dally with him—much less while in this state than when awake. I therefore positively deny that it is possible for any person to do anything with them in any way contrary to their will, or that they would be more likely to yield to arguments or persuasions in this state than when awake. I have always found the reverse to be the case and have generally had much difficulty in getting them to perform experiments, especially if they have had a proper explanation of the nature of the state before they entered it."

Fahnstock does not believe that "*rapport*"

consists of anything more than the attention of the subject being directed to any particular person or thing. He is in *rapport* with his operator or "instructor" because he has his attention directed to him during the time he is falling into "the state"; but it is only necessary to direct his mind upon any person and he will hear, see, etc., that person, just as he will hear, see, etc., in any place when his attention is directed to it. When the mind is "thrown" elsewhere the subject is not cognisant of what takes place in the room in which his body is, nor even of his body itself; and that circumstance was taken advantage of by Fahnstock to perform surgical operations without pain, including painless labours, although in the latter case the woman, if she has been taught the art, can generally make herself anæsthetic. When he employed Statuvolism to prevent pain, he used to send his subject (mentally) to a distant place and keep him occupied and interested there while the operation was going on. I shall end this notice of Statuvolism by quoting one of several of his illustrations of "reading or knowing the mind," in which case there was no independent clairvoyance:—

"Subject, Miss Z., and her tenth sitting. She was requested to travel with Mr. F., and having consented, was asked by him:—

Mr. F.—'Where are we now?'

Miss Z.—'On a large water, in a steamboat' and pointing up, said, 'There is a flag, it is striped.'

Mr. F.—'Well, where are we now?'

Miss Z.—'In a cabin; it is very beautiful.'

Mr. F.—'Where now?'

Miss Z.—'Looking at the machinery.' She gave a description of various things about it and without being asked, said, 'We are on deck now.'

Mr. F.—‘Well, what am I looking at?’

Miss Z. (*Seemingly much delighted.*)—‘I see another boat coming towards us, but it looks very small; it is very far off and creeps along like a turtle.’

Mr. F.—‘Where are we now?’

Miss Z.—‘If you cannot take me to a better house than this I will not go with you any more.’

Mr. F.—‘Why, what kind of a house is it?’

Miss Z.—‘It is a poor concern and is made of rough boards; let us go.’

Mr. F.—‘Where are we now?’

Miss Z. (*Very much pleased and laughing heartily.*)—‘Oh! just look at them; see how busy they are.’

Mr. F.—‘What do you see?’

Miss Z.—‘Why beavers to be sure; look how they are building their huts.’

Mr. F.—‘Where are we now?’

Miss Z.—‘In a city I think; we are before a large house that has a sign, see how it swings.’

Mr. F.—‘Let us go in.’

Miss Z.—‘No, I would rather be excused; let us go home.’

Mr. F.—‘Where are we now?’

Miss C.—‘This is a strange looking boat, but now we are on a better one; there, now walk out on the plank; here we are at home again.’

“Mr. F. then stated that she had read his mind correctly; and that he first imagined himself in a steamboat upon a lake, he then threw his mind into the cabin, then upon the machinery, then on deck, and imagined a steamboat in the distance. He next imagined himself on an island where the boat usually stopped to take in wood, and upon which there was a shanty, which she described. He next threw his mind upon beavers at work constructing their huts. Then in Millwaukie, before the hotel, and finally, upon an inferior boat used to convey passengers to the main boat, and then home.”

The most noticeable features of Fahnstock’s system are: his poly-psychism—making each faculty a complete and independent whole, almost a separate entity; his theory that the phenomena are produced wholly by the subject himself, consciously when his power over himself is explained to him, unconsciously

when he goes to sleep with the idea that another person has power over him—the theory and practice of our hypnotists being wholly confined to the latter alternative; and his theory of the two different states of consciousness, the ordinary and the statuvolic, each with its waking and sleeping state. The last of these characteristic features, however, was not peculiar to his (Fahnstock's) system, for the facts were recognised by the mesmerists, but their importance not fully understood. Their "sleep-waking" condition was the Fahnstock's statuvolic waking state. The "sleep-waking" state was a name given by the later magnetisers to the "alert" condition, to distinguish it from the "sleep-sleeping" state. Dr. Elliotson, in the "*Zoist*," says of a patient when in the sleep-waking state:—

"She will chat quite brightly when engaged by others in conversation, but, unless spoken to, generally remains in placid silence. When thus silent, she may either remain in the sleep-waking state or pass into a dose, or "sleep-sleeping" condition, so to say, breathing more heavily, from which she awakes into the sleep-waking state when spoken to."

These two contrasted states are frequently mentioned by both magnetisers and hypnotisers, and a curious feature of the "sleep-sleeping" state is that the subject while in it may dream, and remember his dream, as being a dream, after he awakens again from the "sleep-sleeping" into the "sleep-waking" state.

Between Braid and Fahnstock there were many points of resemblance, although Braid's method was physiological and Fahnstock's psychological. Each of them confined himself to his own particular theory and method, and opposed or ignored the ideas and

practices of the magnetisers on the one hand, and of the electro-biologists on the other. Both of them were physicians who continued their regular practice, using their peculiar methods of cure only to supplement the "usual" treatment; and in both instances most of their striking cases were those of patients who came to them only when all other means of cure had proved unavailing. Both of them were mainly anxious to convince or influence the members of their own profession, to whom they thought the practice of their art should be confined. Neither of them were enthusiastic or aggressive, nor gave more than what might be called "parlour" exhibitions. Dr. Fahnstock says:—

"My audiences have, with few exceptions, been of a private nature, and were composed generally of the most obdurate and inveterate sceptics, requiring me to make many and often repeated experiments, with such care and circumspection as their unbelief warranted."

Both of them advanced and defended their theories and practices in periodicals and newspapers, and published attested accounts of cures. Neither of them founded a School, although both had pupils and imitators; and soon after their deaths their respective systems were "practically forgotten." Nevertheless, each had a very decided influence in the direction in which Hypnotism developed in their respective continents—Braid's influence favouring the physiological explanation of the phenomena that now prevails in Europe; Fahnstock's, the psychological interpretation that is current in the United States. Finally, in both cases, the effects produced still await intelligent investigation and adequate explanation.

The Pathetism of Sunderland.

Another innovator belonging to the same generation was Laroy Sunderland, of Boston, Mass., U.S., who, like Braid, Buchanan, and Fahnstock, was a thorn in the side of the Animal Magnetisers. Sunderland called his system "Pathetism." * Pathetism, he says, is "the Philosophy of Influences in or upon the Human Mind, including the consideration not only of the one who is influenced, but the sphere or qualities of the agent from whom the influence is received." Sunderland published his well-known work, "The Trance," in 1860; and he says in his preface that the book is the result of over forty years of experience and experiment, and this would give him some twenty years' precedence of Braid and Fahnstock. Sunderland occupies a peculiar and independent position in the history and development of Hypnotism. Hitherto, Hypnotism, under whatever name it was known, took the form of a mode of medical treatment, and, with few exceptions, its foremost exponents, as well as its bitterest opponents, were medical men. Laroy Sunderland, on the other hand, was originally a clergyman of the Episcopal Methodist denomination, who for many years travelled the country as a revivalist preacher; and it was his extraordinary experiences during those

* Sunderland thus particularises the derivation of the name "Pathetism":—

"From *Pascho*, to experience, be affected with anything, good or bad; to suffer, to feel, to be exposed or affected in a particular manner towards another, or by any event. And from the same root, *Pathos*, passion, affection, that which is suffered; love, kindness, a disease, a mental perturbation, a passive state of the mind or the body; a condition, a disposition."

years which led him to form the theory that he called Pathetism; and which caused him to leave the ministry and devote himself to the investigation and demonstration of the "Trance." His experiences among the convulsed and cataleptic crowds at religious revivals were of a different order from those of the magnetisers in the sick room, or in the drawing-room, and not only did many of the phenomena constantly present themselves to him, first when preaching, and afterwards when lecturing, which the magnetisers considered it wrong or dangerous to try to evoke experimentally, but also those phenomena occurred with so great a publicity that it was impossible to ignore or deny them, as is so easily and so frequently done in the case of "laboratory" experiments and clinical demonstrations.

We must not forget that during twenty-five or thirty years, beginning in the forties, a number of itinerant "electro-biologists" lectured (gave entertainments) in every town and village in the United States, the consequence being that Hypnotism is now much better known there than with us, and is at present as much a popular as a medical "movement," taking educational, reformatory, sociological, and philosophical directions, as well as, in a disguised form, underlying Christian Science, Mental Science, and other emotional "isms." Sunderland was neither a mesmerist nor an electro-biologist, but he resembled the former in some of his phenomena, and the latter in others, and also in some of his methods, in the publicity of his propaganda, and in the popular interest which his "Lectures on the Soul" created. He was frequently attacked by the religious

Press, for he said that all religions are attempts to throw the responsibility of our actions on someone else; he was much disliked by the mesmerists, for he reproduced some of the most singular phenomena, while denying the action of the will, the necessity for contact or passes, and the existence of a "fluid"; maintaining that an emanation continually thrown off would be an effete or excretory effluvium, not a force. Sunderland, in fact, approached the subject from a direction different from that of any other magnetiser or hypnotist; his experiences were unique, and his theories are well worthy of consideration.

As Sunderland merely continued as a "Pathetist" the process for bringing on the trance which he found so effectual as a revivalist, we find in Pathetism none of the methods for throwing the subject into the hypnotic condition which mesmerisers and hypnotisers think essential. The apparent inadequacy of the means which they use to produce their extraordinary results is found by all magnetisers and hypnotists to be a fruitful source of incredulity; but Sunderland, when he lectured, seemed to employ no special means at all, and this was a constant puzzle to the Press and to the public. "What does he do to produce his results?" asks the "New Era," of Portsmouth, Va., of January 7th, 1847. "We answer, absolutely nothing but deliver a quiet, unassuming address to the mind." Various people, the report goes on to say, fell asleep in their seats while he went on with his lecture, or they went up to the platform with closed eyes, and sat down there. Nor must it be conjectured that this somnolence was of the kind usually caused by dulness; the reports bear

testimony to the interesting nature of Sunderland's discourses; for instance, the Salem "Argus," of February 28th, 1844, says:—

"He brings the power to bear while he is lecturing, and as he seems to rivet the attention by his remarks, your curiosity will be drawn off by the somnambule sleep of some dozen or twenty people in various parts of the hall."

Although "Mental Suggestion" (the thing, though not the name) was known to magnetisers as early as 1784, the public are still ignorant of it, and Sunderland's silent power over his subjects at the lectures seemed utterly inexplicable; so much so, indeed, that a certain Rev. Henry Jones paid him the same compliment, in 1843, that the Rev. Hugh McNeil paid to Braid soon afterwards—he published a tract to prove that he acted by the aid of the Devil! And so, apparently, thought the reporter of "The Olive Branch." "The Olive Branch" was a religious journal that regarded Pathetism as "nothing more nor less than the revival of that art which constituted the employment of magicians and sorcerers"; and it sent a reporter to one of Sunderland's lectures; but, as the report said:—

"Whether from sympathy with a poor sleeper who sat next to us, or some other cause inexplicable to us, we began to feel a strong sensation running down our right arm, which made it rather difficult to hold a pencil; we changed our position, but the influence, real or fanciful, kept hold of us, and we thought on the whole it would be as prudent to escape from the magic circle."*

* The tendency which clergymen still sometimes exhibit to attribute to the Devil the healing of disease by unusual means, seems foolishly illogical to the lay mind, since the Devil is supposed to be an enemy of mankind; but the same perverted logic that makes out calamities to be the handiwork of God is equal to the occasion: and William Perkins, an old Warwickshire divine of great learning and piety, in a work called "Discourse of the Damned Art of Witchcraft," explains very clearly the part played by the Devil in the cures effected by withcraft. To apply the same reasoning to

In 1822, when a youth of 18 years of age, Laroy Sunderland went through all the stages of revivalist "conversion," according to the Methodist practice, up to those stages which are technically known as "witness of the spirit," "sanctification," and "love of God shed abroad in the heart." He says:—

"My sectarian experience culminated in 1823 in a strong belief that I had a 'great mission' to perform. And so on June 9th, in Walpole, Massachusetts, I commenced my career as an experimenter on the mind of man. The audience was composed of young people, and quite small. My sermon was addressed wholly to the organs of marvellousness; my assumptions, like all other revivalists, were based upon tradition and under the pains of an eternal hell. I told my audience *what to believe*. And now observe the success that followed the first experiment of the kind which I had ever performed. My audience were completely pathetised by my views and feelings; they believed what I told them to believe, and the consequence was their peculiar states of mind overcame their nervous systems. They wept, fell on the floor, became cold and rigid in their muscular systems; their eyes were closed, or elevated and set; some of them fell into a state of trance, and all the singing, praying, rejoicing, and other manifestations which took place during that sermon we supposed to have been produced by 'the power of the Holy Ghost,' operating on the minds of the people. And so I think now it was the work of God, precisely as that was the power of God in the Old Fellows' Hall, Philadelphia, March 2nd, 1847, when, twenty-four years afterwards, I had two hundred and fifty people entranced during one lecture on Pathetism. God

Hypnotism, it is only necessary to assume a compact with the Evil One on the part of the hypnotisers, such as was assumed to exist on the part of the witches. The learned theologian says:—

"Of witches there are two sorts, the bad witch and the good witch. The good witch is he or she that by consent in a league with the devil doth use his help for doing good only. This cannot hurt, but only heal and cure. Now, howsoever, both these be evil, yet of the two, the most horrible and detestable monster is the good witch. For in healing him the good witch hath done him a thousand times more harm than the former. For the one only did hurt the body, but the devil, by means of the other, hath laid fast of the soul, and by curing the body hath killed the spirit."

was the same, and human nature the same in both cases. It is a discovery I have made since 1823, that God and the essential elements and laws of human nature never change.

“For some seventeen years I exercised the functions of a revival preacher, up to 1835; but for the past twenty-five years I have been free from sectarianism, and my object has been more and more to exercise the attributes of a true and harmonious manhood, by which I might teach and influence others to think—not as when a sectarian tells them what to think, but now rather to stimulate others to think for themselves, to originate ideas, and to dare to avow them.”

In 1823 Sunderland, then only 19 years old, and known as “the boy preacher,” started the celebrated “Cape Cod Revival,” at which the most furious religious extravagances were indulged in. He says:—

“I have witnessed at those times all those varieties of nervous phenomena which have since occurred under the names of Mesmerism, Electrical Psychology and Spiritism—such as jerking, twitching, laughing, weeping, dancing, singing, praying, preaching, rolling over like a hoop, jumping like a frog, running, groaning, coughing, kissing, gaping, shaking, besides the visions of heaven, hell, and the deep trance, which lasted sometimes many days. My converts saw the angels; they saw Jesus Christ, and even God and the devil.”

The phenomena at religious revivals were, in Sunderland’s day, already becoming milder. The worst epidemic of that kind was probably the “Jerks,” a name given to the phenomena that occurred during the early years of the last century in several of the Southern States of America, notably in Kentucky. Sunderland quotes a description of the Jerks given by a Mr. McNemar, “who was not only an eye-witness, but an apologist.” McNemar wrote:—

“The exercise commonly began in the head, which would fly backwards and forwards, and from side to side, with a quick jolt, which the person would naturally labour to suppress, but in vain; and the more anyone laboured to stay himself and be sober, the more he staggered, and the more his twitches

increased. He must necessarily go as he was stimulated, whether with a violent dash on the ground, and bounce from place to place like a football, or hop round, with head, limbs, and trunk twitching and jolting in every direction, as if they must necessarily fly asunder. And how such could escape without injury was no small wonder to the spectators. Head-dresses were of little account among the female jerkers. Even handkerchiefs, bound tightly round the head, would be flirled off almost with the first twitch, and the hair put into confusion; this was a very great inconvenience, to redress which the generality were shorn, though directly contrary to their confession of faith."*

One curious effect of these strange religious influences was that people were seemingly carried off

* Wesley and other Methodist preachers met with many cases of trance, in which the subjects presented a condition of iron stiffness. In his Journal, Wesley gives a description of an ecstatic girl, which may be quoted as typical:—

‘Mr. B—— came and told me that Alice Miller (aged fifteen) was fallen into a trance. I went down immediately and found her sitting on a stool and leaning against a wall, with her eyes open and turned upwards. I made a motion as if going to strike, but they continued immovable. Her face showed an unspeakable mixture of reverence and love, while silent tears stole down her cheeks. Her lips were a little open, and sometimes moved. I do not know whether I ever saw a human face look so beautiful. Sometimes it was covered with a smile, as from joy mixing with love and reverence. Her pulse was quite regular. In about half an hour, I observed her countenance change into the form of fear, pity, and distress. Then she burst into a flood of tears, and cried out, ‘Dear Lord, they will be damned—they will all,’ &c. Then again her look was composed, and full of love and joy. About seven her senses returned. I asked, ‘Where have you been?’ ‘I have been with my Saviour—I was in glory; I cried not for myself—but for the world.’”

Or again:—

“The text was ‘Having fear of godliness, but denying the power thereof.’ When the power of religion began to be spoken of, the presence of God really filled the place; and while poor sinners felt the presence of death in their souls what sounds of distress did I hear! The greatest number of those who cried or fell were men; but some women and several children felt the power of the same Almighty Spirit, and seemed just sinking into hell. This occasioned a mixture of various sounds; some shrieking, some roaring aloud. The most general was a loud breathing, like that of people half strangled and gasping for life; and, indeed, almost all the cries were like those of human creatures dying in their bitter anguish. Great numbers wept without any noise; others fell down as dead; some sinking in silence; some with extreme noise and agitation.”

their feet by a force that resembled a great wind, and which hurled them across the chamber, or against the wall. "Men were seized while sedulously guarding against an attack, and cursing every jerk when seized. Travellers on their journey, and labourers at their daily work, were liable to them." Nothing was commoner than for hard-headed sceptics, who went to the meeting to have a good laugh, to be suddenly seized like the rest, and then they would set to jerking and jumping, praying and roaring, without the least power to stop. Sunderland mentions an amusing instance of men being seized when at their daily work. After one of his Cape Cod meetings two brothers, cobblers, returned to their work; but—

"They were no sooner seated at their benches, with the leather and their tools in their hands, than 'the power of God' came upon them, and they were struck stiff and helpless! They shouted aloud for 'mercy,' and the alarm soon spread through the neighbourhood as to what had happened in the shop. Men, women, and children flocked round to see and hear, and a messenger was dispatched for me to come and 'pray for them.' On entering the shop it was 'a sight to behold.' There were those two young men on their benches; one had a shoe on his knee and his hammer in his hand, and the other his awl and waxed thread, with which he was about to commence sewing when 'the power came upon him.' They were cold and stiff, and horribly frightened. They thought that God or the devil had got hold of them, sure enough, for they could neither drop their tools nor leave their seats; and among those who crowded into the shop to see what was going on there were others similarly affected."

In 1839 Sunderland met a young lady who had fallen into a trance at one of his services fifteen years before; she was then the wife of a gentleman who used to mesmerise her, and Sunderland was greatly interested by the phenomena he saw in her case. He had left the ministry several years before,

being persuaded that the phenomena of the revivals had a human, not a divine origin, but it was his experience of mesmerism in the case of this lady that suggested to him his theory of Pathetism. In 1841 he gave a series of demonstrations, which were attended by a number of men of reputation in the religious, medical, and scientific world of America, including Prof. Mapes and Dr. Peixetto, the President of the N.Y. Medical Society, who, when the series of experiments were finished, expressed themselves pleased and astonished. These demonstrations were intended to illustrate the theory which Sunderland had for a long time been hatching out in his mind, and which, he says, is the "keystone" of his system of Pathetism. He states this "idea" thus:—

"When a relation is once established between an operator (or any given substance, real or imaginary, as the agent) and his patient, corresponding changes may be induced in the nervous system of the latter (awake or entranced) by suggestions addressed to either of the external senses, and in some cases by the mere volition of the operator."

By "mere volition of the operator," Sunderland meant what would now be called "mental suggestion," for he is careful to explain that he speaks of "nervous results," and that nervous results are always self-induced. It was on that point that the chief disagreement existed between Sunderland and the Mesmerists, Electro-biologists and Neurologists (the followers of Dr. Buchanan), and he seems to have carried on for years a running fight with all three. Fahnstock, he appears to have left pretty much alone. Fahnstock's ideas were somewhat similar to his own, in so far as that experimenter assumed the phenomena to be self-

induced; and Fahnstock himself was not of a quarrelsome disposition.

Of the state of Trance, Sunderland says:—

“This term is used to signify a state of the nervous system in which the mind is said to pass beyond the use of the external senses; a condition in which the mind is more or less active without the normal consciousness of the external world. It is so much like dreaming that it is sometimes difficult to distinguish one of these states from the other. And a similar remark may be made of reverie and cases of mild insanity. The principal characteristics in a real state of trance are as follows:—

1. “Insensibility to the external world. The senses of hearing, seeing, and feeling, are suspended. Sometimes one of these senses seems to be transferred to different parts of the body; so that the patient has the sense of sight in the coronal region, the occiput, or the epigastrium.

2. “The mind is active, similarly as in dreaming and somnambulism. The patient moves about, talks, writes, and adapts appropriate means to ends, even beyond his capacity when in the normal state. There are other traits; but in different cases they vary in temperature, rigidity of muscles, state of pulse, and activity of the mental functions.

“Ecstasy may be said to be the highest state of trance, when the mind is exalted to its utmost capacity in its emotions of joy. This state is rare and occurs very seldom, being mostly confined to religious exercises.

“The immediate cause of the trance, whether spontaneous or artificially produced, is always in the mind, or in the nervous system of the patient. The suggestion may come from what we see in others, or from a thought which, so to speak, sets the nerves *in motion* which brings on the trance. Or those motions may be excited by the state of the stomach, the health, or by the state of the patient’s own mind. But, whatever outside influences may be attempted, they produce no effects, except as they find the mind, or the nervous system of the patient in a suitable condition.

“Among the multitudes I have entranced I have noticed invariably an incapacity in the subjects to judge accurately as to the *rationale* of the processes by which that state was induced. The erroneous notion taught under the name of Mesmerism in respect to the human *will* has misled people, as may easily be

shown by actual experiment. And this same error prevails in respect to the 'influence of spirits.' The spirits have never entranced anyone, except first through the external senses of the patient. That is, the patient, before he is ever entranced by 'spirit influence' at all, must *hear* about spiritism, and when the *idea* is once formed in his mind by reading about it, by hearing others speak of it, or by seeing others entranced as under the so-called 'spirit influence,' his mind, his nervous system, is thus rendered plastic and he is *prepared for self-induction.*"

Sunderland claimed for Pathetism the following distinguishing and characteristic advantages:—

1. "Pathetism operates and produces all the results of Mesmerism without the labour of the will and without its peculiar processes.

2. "Pathetism produces the same or more results, without the labour of the will, on persons wide awake, while they are perfectly conscious of external relations and things.

3. "It has the vast advantage of producing the same results, not on one individual, but on one or a hundred at the same time.

4. "Pathetism produces all the phenomena, often without requiring any condition of the patient. It produces results and tells how they are produced when no conditions whatever are required of the patient.

5. "Pathetism operates without (always) requiring any condition of the attending spectators. Thus multitudes have been affected and brought entirely under my control while there has been any amount of noise, mirth, and excitement, throughout the entire audience. In those cases there were, there could be, no 'mesmeric passes,' no 'coin,' no 'zinc and copper,' nor any other object to gaze at, no 'profound silence,' no 'electro-reactive conditions' required.

6. "Pathetism operates on the entire audience at one and the same time; a thing never attempted or done by any other theory, new or old.

7. "It operates not only on persons in the normal or waking state, but it carries them into the higher states of Trance and Ecstasy and in these states introduces phenomena without addressing either one of the external senses.

8. "It dispenses with the unfounded notions in respect to the pretended electricity of the tractors of Perkins and the zinc and copper coin. And when results are produced by using these

substances, such as coin or a piece of charcoal, this theory shows how it is that they come to pass.

9. "The method of Pathetism compels persons to come out from my public audiences and place themselves on my platform.

10. "I have by Pathetism controlled persons, not only immediately, even before they had taken their seats in my public lecture room; but I have also fascinated them at a distance of a mile, and in that state have drawn them into my hall.

11. "Pathetism is original in causing one entranced person to experiment on another, as, for instance, I first entrance A, then A entrances B, and B entrances C, and so on up to fifty.

12. "Pathetism is original in causing surgeons to operate in public, while both surgeon and patient are in a state of trance, without the use of the external senses."

In a description of Sunderland's Lectures, in the "Boston Post" of Dec. 4th, 1843, the phenomena that occurred at them are thus enumerated:—

1. "Induced somnambulism in strangers and without contact, and in persons who had never been previously operated upon and brought into that state without contact.

2. "Induced somnambulism, brought on without contact, in the case of persons who had never been operated upon, and in a public promiscuous assembly while the operator was actually proceeding with his lecture, and in fifteen or twenty cases at once, and without the patients looking at anything for the purpose.

3. "A state of real trance, induced without contact, in persons who had never been manipulated at all.

4. "Catalepsy brought on in the same manner.

5. "Cerebral excitement produced without contact in persons who had never been manipulated.

6. "Cerebral excitement self-induced by the patient touching his own organs.

7. "Cerebral sympathetic excitements induced in three or in twenty persons at once simply by one of them touching his own head.

8. "Second sight induced in persons wide awake, without contact, and who had never been previously operated upon by any mesmeriser.

9. "Relief of pain and cure of disease, without contact, in a public audience, in strangers, too, never before operated upon or mesmerised."

During his ten years' career as a lecturer, hundreds of thousands must have witnessed these trances, and thousands must have experienced them; and everywhere the local Press gave accounts of the proceedings; insomuch that it would appear impossible rationally to doubt the general accuracy of what has been reported about his phenomena. Sunderland thus explains his theory of "Self-induction" more particularly:—

"Pathematic results are immediately commenced by the patient's own mind operating on his own nervous system. The remote or suggestive cause may be extrinsic in what the patient *sees, hears, or feels*, done or said by the operator. But the influence for producing the trance is commenced always through the external senses. And then, after the process of entrancing has been repeated for a certain length of time, when the Relation is established between the operator and a *clairvoyant*, the clairvoyant sense enables the patient to know what the operator's will is, and in such cases the former sinks into the trance when at a considerable distance from the latter. To test the power of the will, let an experiment be tried upon a mute who can have no idea of what is attempted upon him. In this and all similiar trials with any class of persons, you will find that no influence whatever can be exerted over another by mere volition, except on the conditions here described.*

"By repeating the processes for Pathetism a *habitude* for the trance is formed by the use of the external senses; and when this habit is once contracted it is difficult to prove that this state comes on by 'spirit influence' or by the mere volition of the operator. It may occur, indeed, without any conseious volition of the patient, and on this account he is the more likely to mistake in attributing it to the volition of invisible imaginary personages when there is no more reason for his doing so than there would be to suppose his *gaping*, when sleepy, was caused by 'spirit influence.'"

This reference to "spirit influence" comes from the circumstance that Spiritualism was exciting very general and lively controversy in the United States

*That is contrary to the experience of Esdaile and other magnetisers.

at the time this was written, and Sunderland was sometimes affirmed to be in league with the spirits to produce his phenomena; it was sometimes even maintained that the spirits were the principal actors in their production. He continues:—

“In all influences attempted upon the nervous system of another there are two wills concerned. One is active, the other passive; or both may be active in one direction and both passive in another. And the conditions do not often occur where it is possible to test this question in respect to volition. The dog, it may be said, obeys the will of its master; but that will is made known by sounds or signs addressed to the dog’s external senses.

“As there are two wills concerned in this experiment it is important to ascertain what parts are performed by each one, what is possible and what is actually done. Let A represent the operator and B the patient; and the various states and conditions favourable for results we will designate by numerals, thus:—

“1. B can and does fall into a trance and is clairvoyant spontaneously without any operator.

“2. A makes passes over the body of B and impresses his mind with what he says to him. B yields his will to the idea of the trance, and it follows, *associated* in B’s mind with the processes adopted by A for bringing it on.

“3. A, unknown to B, makes an effort to induce the trance by his volition alone, without any external processes, and fails.

“4. B imagines A wishes him to fall into a trance when A does not have any thoughts whatever about it; but the state of B’s own mind brings on the trance and B erroneously attributes it to the mere volition of A.

“5. In the meantime B hears wonderful stories told of ‘spirits’ and ‘spirit influence.’ And being spontaneously disposed to the trance, and his mind once ‘impressed’ with the idea of ‘spirit influence,’ he finds himself entranced; and as he knows of no other way for accounting for its occurrence, he attributes his trance to his ‘guardian spirit,’ of course, whose volition alone is powerful and sufficient to induce that state; nor that alone, for he is thus inspired, and B becomes an ‘inspirational medium,’ a teacher, a lecturer, ‘under spirit influence.’

“6. B becomes clairvoyant, it may be; and at a time when this clairvoyant sense is highly excited, he becomes cognisant of A’s will that he should become entranced.”

He goes on to say that only repeated experiments can prove in any case that a trance is caused by will power or by spirit influence, the tests being of such a nature as to eliminate the probability or possibility of any other cause. Sunderland was continually annoyed by the newspaper reports of his lectures attributing the phenomena to his will, for one of his usual experiments was to get persons in the audience to write what they wished the pathetised subjects to do, and Sunderland, standing at the far end of the platform, concentrated his attention on them, without speaking a word, and all the subjects on the platform did what was desired—began to laugh, or to quarrel, or to see a balloon, or sing a certain song, or whatever it might be. This was very naturally attributed by the newspaper reporters to will power, and they frequently made the mistake of saying that Sunderland himself professed that such was the case. It was useless for him to explain at his lectures that the way he got his subjects to feel or act in a certain manner, without any sign or word, was through the intermediary of one of their number who was clairvoyant or clairaudent to him, and who was in sympathetic relationship with all the others on the platform, so that what that one subject felt or thought or desired all the others immediately felt or thought or desired at the same time.* The

* The following curious incident, from a report of one of Sunderland's lectures in the "Troy Budget," of September 12th, 1842, illustrates the thoroughness of that sympathy between the "patients":—

"We were at Dr. Christie's store a moment after (the lecture), when a lady entered who appeared to be in a state of great suffering; she asked the Doctor, in a tremulous tone, for a glass of water and a little ammonia. The Doctor, after giving it to her, asked her if

fact seems to be that when he gave that explanation he was not credited, for everybody believes in will power since he possesses it in some degree himself, but clairvoyant perception, or thought-reading, and a sympathetic community of feeling between the subjects in the "trance state," were things that few of his audience had ever heard of before and in which still fewer believed. In the same way everyone had heard of "spirit control" and of spirits appearing to people when in trance, and doubtless many of his audience believed in those things, but very few of them could grasp the conception that the idea of a spirit in the mind of a person could appear to him as being objective, and affect him just as if it had an independent existence. Therefore, when he caused one of his subjects on the stage to see the spirit of a departed friend, that subject believed, and the whole audience suspected, that he really opened the subject's eyes to see into the realm of spirit. He replied to one correspondent who enquired how he made people see spirits:—

"Precisely so far as they were under my influence, they would 'see' or believe whatever I told them to. As to their really seeing an inhabitant of the moon, or of any other world, that was hallucination, and nothing else. The ghosts were inside the brains of those who saw them."

Sunderland said that the passes and other manipulations of the mesmerisers were all mystifications, and the public thought that he himself was mystifying them when he gave out that some people she had a toothache, she replied that she had had her tooth drawn; when one of her friends, who accompanied her, remarked that 'her tooth had not been drawn, but she was in a trance while a lady's tooth had been extracted.' 'Well,' she said, 'I should like to know what is the difference, when I have suffered all the pain of having one drawn.'

who would attend his lectures would be entranced on their way to the hall without his exerting his will: What could that possibly be, they asked, but a proof of his wonderful will power? He explains the matter thus to an "Inquirer":—

"What I said was, that 'the human will of one person was never known to act upon the nervous system of another until a *relation* had been previously established between the patient and the operator, through one or each of the external senses.' Nor is it true that my *announcing* that I would induce the trance on some persons, even before reaching my lecture room, is proof that I taught this notion as to the *independent* action of my will! This 'announcement' proves precisely the contrary! When I *announced* what I *would* do beforehand, the patients all heard what I said, and thus they were addressed through their external sense of hearing. Of course, when my patients heard me say what I wished them to do, they were reached through their external senses, and this suggestion set their own nervous system to work, which resulted in the trance.' Subjects always come upon my platform because I 'will them to come'; but they could never have known that I willed them to do so, if I had not told them, by addressing the external senses beforehand. Soldiers on the field of battle fight, fearless of death, because their commander wills them to do so; but if he did nothing but will them to fight, my opinion is that the commander's volition would accomplish just nothing at all."

Sunderland, very justly I think, considered this question of will to be of extreme importance; but he presents only one side of the argument. What he says, however, merits attentive consideration, for the action of the pure will must be found as a residuum when all other known agencies are eliminated. It is the popular error about the power of the will, he thought, that was the cause of the witchcraft horrors; and he gives a curious experience of his own, which might have been a very serious matter for him a couple of centuries earlier:—

"When giving lectures at Salem, Massachusetts,—a spot of all others so far famed for wizards and witches two hundred

years ago—a woman came to me whom I had never seen before, and accused me of having controlled her by my ‘will power’ four years previously, and she said she had been bewitched by me ever since! Now, what could I do in this case? For this poor deluded woman was just as sure that I had willed her to do certain things four years before I had any knowledge of her, as ‘Inquirer’ is now that she has been controlled by my mere will, independent of the external senses. This Salem woman attended my lectures, and came upon the platform with her eyes shut, and acted with my other subjects, and all this she did while I willed with all my might against it. I did not want her there, and begged her to keep away, but she followed me to Lowell, and I had to apply to the Mayor and the police to get rid of her; and all this while she insisted upon it that I willed her to act as she did. Why, I have known hundreds of people to affirm that they were controlled by my will when I knew that they acted contrary to my will all the time.”

The question of the complete and constant control by an individual of himself, by his own will, is more complex than Sunderland knew, for since his time the discovery of a “sub-conscious self” has created new difficulties for us in this matter. But Sunderland saw that “mental epidemics are characterised always by numerous mental states, which the parties declare to be wholly involuntary.” He attributed these results not to any foreign will, but to “sympathetic imitation,” of which he relates the following curious instance, which I quote because it illustrates his theory of “self-induction” :—

“The papers have recently reported a most extraordinary case, now before the French Courts. A certain Mr. C. died, leaving an express order to his heirs that he should be buried in church, and a handsome sum paid to the priests, on condition that ‘nobody should laugh while the service was going on.’ Of course the odd request got noised abroad; all the village came to the funeral; and as everybody kept an eye on everybody else to see that nobody should so much as wink, the natural result followed. A fat priest near the coffin was the first to break down; the choir boys, in the frailty of their youth, followed the priest; the minor canons, trying to

stop the choir boys, caught the contagion, and began to shake their sides; the deacons were off next into a full guffaw; and finally the Curé himself was conquered, and choked in his handkerchief. In short, a merrier interment was never witnessed. But the heirs, not liking the sport, have refused to pay the clergy for their rollicking services, and the matter is now in court."

Thereupon Sunderland remarks:—

"Such is the power which often compels people to laugh or to weep, to be grave or gay, involuntarily, not because such results are willed by any one, but we are compelled to do so against our wills, and in despite of ourselves. And in these imitative, sympathetic susceptibilities of our nature we find the gist of those conditions and causes which bring about the crusades, the money panics, sectarian revivals, mesmeric results, and much of the mere nervous phenomena now prevalent under the name of Spiritism."

It is to this power of self-induction, involuntarily exercised, that Sunderland attributes all the phenomena of Psycho-physics. The power of self-induction, he says, "inheres in the economy of human life," by which he seems to mean that it is a power of the possession of which we are not aware, generally speaking, and which we exercise unconsciously, for a power is necessarily the power of someone or something, and does not "inhere" in an abstraction; it is not the "power" itself that compels us "to laugh or to weep"; it is we who unconsciously compel ourselves to do so, by a power that "inheres" in the Ego. Sunderland vaguely attributes that power to "the mind"; he says:—

"By this power the mind withdraws itself from the consciousness of pain; it cures disease; it induces the so-called 'change of heart' in revivals of religion; it brings on trance, and often induces other changes, which have been attributed to God or Devil."

It is not easy to understand the precise function and limit of self-induction, but the following curious case comes under it. Sunderland relates:—

“When lecturing at Marblehead (1844), a man called on me who had but one foot, and gave me the following account of himself. He said he was a ship carpenter, and had his foot taken off by a chain cable while launching a ship, and it was done so suddenly, while watching the motion of the ship, that he did not notice it at all. He happened to step into a coil of the huge chain attached to the ship, and did not know that it had taken his foot off until he attempted to walk, and fell upon the ground. Here was a surgical operation performed without consciousness of pain, and the ‘unconscious state’ was brought on by the man’s own mind, which is what I denominate *self-induction*.”

This power of self-induction differs from the power over self taught by Fahnstock, inasmuch as it always needs, to call it into operation, some person or thing, between the subject and whom (or which) a “relation” is established. This “relation” is more than a mere passive *rapport*; it causes the subject to set in motion his power of self-induction; it is “increased by habit, and sometimes acquires supreme control over the mind.” Sunderland’s self-induction is, in fact, a power inherent in the subject which is unconsciously and involuntarily put into action at the instigation of an operating cause, or “influence”; the tendency to which action, when it becomes habitual and automatic, he calls a “relation.” The relation is established by “a thought, belief, or idea, in the mind of the subject”; and this thought, belief, or idea, is conveyed to his mind in the first instance through one or other of the senses:—

“It makes no difference what the process is; when the Relation is once fully established, the process (a look, a word, a sign, a particular time, or place, a touch of the hand, a letter, a coin, a piece of charcoal or paper), whatever it may be (if not offensive), will suggest the trance to the mind of the patient and bring on the state with which it is associated.”

This is not exactly the “suggestion” of our

present hypnotisers, for Sunderland uses that term suggestion in the sense of an association of ideas, which needs something more to cause action; that something being an "influence" which acts through "sympathetic imitation and habit." He states the "law" of self-induction as follows:—

"Impress the mind of your patient with the *certainty* of the result, associated with the process adopted for producing it. Command him to fix his eyes, his attention, his whole mind upon it, and to expect it until it comes. The thought, the conception, the *idea* of the state in the mind of the patient, is the immediate cause that brings it on."*

When Sunderland first began to lecture, he used to hang up a white handkerchief and request his audience to look at it while listening to his lecture, and afterwards he substituted the head of his cane, which lay on the table before him. This caused the Electro-biologists to cry out that he was copying their methods; to which he replied that, as he altogether denied their electrical theory, and did not consider the steady gaze necessary, but merely helpful, he could not possibly be accused of copying them or stealing their methods. It does not seem likely that he took the idea from Braid, for, even allowing Braid priority in the matter of the fixed gaze, his method was the upward squint, whereas Sunderland used simple gazing, which was an old and common method of the mesmerisers. Sunderland differed from all other operators by the use he made of "sympathetic imitation." He knew, by his experiences as a revivalist preacher, that the pathematic condition was eminently contagious, not only with regard to the falling into the trance, but

* This sounds like a very strong and whole-hearted statement of Dr. Carpenter's theory of "Expectant Attention."

also with regard to what the subject felt or did while in that state. That was why, when he had a “clairvoyant” subject among those on the platform, he had no need of verbal or other suggestion addressed to the senses; he mentally created delusions in the mind of this one subject—that it was freezing or scorching, or that they were birds, or that a swarm of bees were attacking them, or so on—and all the others saw, heard, or felt the same, *each filling in the details of his dream by his own creative imaginations*. It must be remembered that this imitation was perfectly unconscious, and without the smallest “pretending” in it. As it takes time and repeated operations to develop the clairvoyant state with sufficient certainty to be able to count upon it for public exhibitions, Sunderland used to take a good clairvoyant with him when going to a new locality to lecture, and he made no secret that he did so, for the presence of a good clairvoyant on the platform was necessary for the elucidation of his theory, and for the success of his most striking experiments. He generally found, however, that he had an excellent clairvoyant among the strangers who came on the platform, and this he much preferred, since these were generally people who were known to the audience. He frequently alludes to this power of mind-reading (as we would now call it); for instance, he says:—

“If I have one such clairvoyant in a company of ten or of ten thousand others entranced, who are not clairvoyant, of course I can control them simultaneously, as one person, because they are all in sympathetic communication with the one who is clairvoyant of my will, and who thus knows what my wishes are. The clairvoyant knows, to a limited extent, what my

wishes are ; and all the others, more or less, take their cue from what they hear said and done by that one whom they follow."

As to "habit," with Sunderland the word implied the development of a power or susceptibility rather than the practice that gives dexterity, which is the manner in which frequent operating is supposed by hypnotisers to conduce to increased success. Habit makes what is now called "hypnotic education" in the subject, and habit also makes what we may designate as "pathematic education" in the operator: that is to say, that anyone who accustoms himself to "pathetise" (hypnotise or mesmerise) by some particular method, becomes increasingly able to produce results by that method, and increasingly unable to produce them by any other; the subject at the same time becoming increasingly susceptible to the means thus habitually employed. Habit strengthens "relation." "Some will sink into a state of trance by merely sitting in the chair where they have been entranced before. The sight of a rum bottle sets the habitual drinker craving."

Habit gives force to the laws of association by which those nervous changes come on. "Habit, once established in any given case, gives power to the mere volition of the operator." The habit is commenced by the mutual consent of the parties:—

"Habit is formed through the use of all the external senses—sight, hearing, feeling. Hence the patient has all necessary opportunities for information as to the operator's will and designs. The power which the operator acquires over the patient is obtained by words and motions addressed to the mind through one or each of the external senses."

Habit causes everyone to permanently assume certain mental and bodily characteristics, which

create for him powers and limitations, and give him a "sphere." This "sphere" plays an important part in Sunderland's system, for he tells us that the theory of Pathetism, "as a distinct system of Mental Philosophy, includes the doctrine of spheres as well as the doctrine of relations." The sphere is concerned with "the qualities of things, the sources whence originate all sympathies, antipathies, apathies, attractions (love), and repulsions (hatred)." The relation has to do with "correspondences, associations, whence originates power, physical and moral." Of the sphere, he says:—

1. "It signifies not merely a perfect globe, or body, which is in every part equally distant from a point called its centre, but also the extent, or circuit of motion, peculiar to any given body.

2. The extent, or circuit of knowledge, peculiar to individuals.

3. Rank, or order of society, by which the relative position of one to another is determined.

4. The extent or circuit of that which proceeds from any body or substance, the whole of the influence exerted from or by anyone. Each individual, every animal, and every plant in the vegetable kingdom, every mineral even, has a sphere of its own."

It is this belief in "spheres," in so far as they are spheres of influence, that differentiates Sunderland from our present hypnotists of the Suggestionist School, and gives him a resemblance to the mesmerists, for it causes him to recognise *the influence of the operator* in the production of the phenomena. He says:—

"The *sphere* of the operator may, and often does, direct, modify, and control the whole. In cases, therefore, where certain *results* are *expected* by the operator, or by his patients, and which depend upon the nervous susceptibilities of either party, we must bear in mind how much these results *may* vary, and with how much caution we should deduce conclusions from

such experiments as applying always to physical bodies. It is manifest from this *law*, which has its origin in the idiosyncrasy or *sphere* of different preachers of the gospel, that what have been called 'revivals of religion,' have always had certain *characteristics*, depending on the *views* of the leaders by whom they were got up. Thus persons who were 'converted' under the preaching of John Wesley generally went through a certain routine of 'feelings' and 'exercises,' as all have done who have been since converted under the labours of Wesley's followers. But those attracted by the writings of Swedenborg are 'converted' by a different process; and a similar remark might be made of revivals among the Baptists, Presbyterians, and Mormons; and, indeed, of particular revivals or conversions under different preachers; they are always in some respect *characteristic*, both of the men by whose *spheres* or influences they are got up, and the *sectarian views* by which they are governed. Hence we may see John Wesley in a Methodist revival. We see George Fox in a Quaker meeting and costume; Ann Lee in the Shaker habits; and the preacher, or founder of the *sect*, always in his followers, and in the 'experience,' the views and feelings of all who are converted by their labours. In the nature of things it must be so. Each one has his *peculiar sphere*, within which he will bring as many others as he finds congenial with himself, and the influence he exerts over them will distinguish him and them from all others who are influenced by another *sphere*, essentially or altogether different. And in these laws we find the reasons for that caution which all should exercise before submitting their minds to the *influences* exercised by another. In each there are certain *leading traits* of character, which they communicate."

Sunderland thus fully recognised *the importance* of the part played by the operator. Some people, he said, have far greater power to pathetise than others, and their ideas and beliefs determine the nature of the effect. "All nervous results artificially induced vary according to the notion of the operator"; a few repetitions create a habit which confirms those results, increases them, and makes them invariable. This, he says, applies to Mesmer, Reichenbach, Perkins, Greatrakes, &c.; and it was the argument he used in his controversy with Buchanan, whose

“Neurology” chiefly consisted in touching certain parts of the head and body, which, its inventor maintained, was followed by definite and constant results. Sunderland says:—

“Take any dozen of good subjects, and operate on them thus: Cause them all to believe that you design to induce precisely the same state of feeling in each one, and then touch each one in different places, but so that no one may know what was done to the other; the result will be the same feeling in all cases. A few repetitions will make a habit in all. . . . Touch any number of persons, who have no suspicion of any design, and you will find no results confirmatory of the assumption in favour of Neurology.”

In the case of Reichenbach, whose “sensitives” were exceedingly impressible, Sunderland also invokes the influence of the operator:—

“Though there may be some apparent uniformity in the results which he developed from his ‘sensitives,’ yet it must be borne in mind that his own *nervous* or *mental sphere* entered into those experiments, and necessarily served to modify them in some form or other.”

Again, he quotes Reichenbach, who says:—

“If a strong magnet, capable of supporting ten pounds, be drawn downwards over the bodies of fifteen or twenty persons, without actually touching them, some among them will always be found to be excited by it in a peculiar manner.”

And on this he remarks:—

“Undoubtedly: and similar results would follow if you passed a piece of chalk down their backs, provided that they believed it was a magnet. Or better still, blindfold the ‘fifteen or twenty persons,’ and do nothing to them, but cause them to believe you are passing a powerful magnet down their backs, and you will find the results generally the same.”

Of course, Reichenbach was quite aware of the power of the “imagination.” The whole question is whether there is not a whole series of phenomena for which imagination or self-induction will not account, and which require very delicate operations

to bring them into evidence. That question Reichenbach's critics generally evade, as Sunderland did, by attributing to him a child-like ignorance of what he was about.

Sunderland was able to produce what he called "second sight" in his subjects, a power which Donato also exercised on the platform. The Providence, R.I., "Evening Chronicle," for October 21st, 1843, thus described an instance of this phenomenon:—

"Next, Mr. Sunderland restored one of the patients to wakefulness, and informed us that he would induce the state of mental hallucination called 'second sight.' And, sure enough, the lady, with her eyes wide open, arose and stretched her hands towards what she took to be the spirit of her deceased father, and with whom she conversed in a style not easily described. And what is still more remarkable, if possible, at this instant another lady, who sat near, and one *who had not been put to sleep at all*, gave a most piercing shriek, declaring that she also saw the ghost of her deceased sister, and it was some moments before the lecturer was able to compose and quiet her mind."

One of Sunderland's favourite experiments was painless tooth extraction. He had the genuineness of the decayed tooth verified by medical men among the audience, and then the patient stood with a candle in each hand, by the light of which the dentist (who sometimes was also in the trance state himself) extracted it. The following extract from the "Boston Chronotype," of November 20th, 1847, illustrates more than mere tooth drawing:—

"A curious incident occurred at Mr. Sunderland's lecture on Wednesday evening. A lady who had a mutinous tooth, on the assurance of Mr. S. that he could *pathetise* her, agreed to attend his lecture that evening in the Tremont Temple. But mistaking the room, she entered that occupied by the Mercantile Library Association for a lecture, and took her seat. In a few

minutes she was noticed to be asleep, and a general titter ran through the immense assembly of merchants' clerks at the influence exerted by the lecturer below. So great was the excitement that Mr. Sunderland had to be sent for to take care of his misplaced patient. On his coming to her, she readily followed him to the stage in the room below when, a dentist being in attendance, her peccant molar was removed, without disturbing a muscle of her face."

Sunderland, who quotes the above, says:—

"The surgical operation on this young lady, performed in a state of trance, was perfectly successful. In about one year afterwards she was operated on for an ovarian tumour in the Massachusetts Hospital, where she died. She took chloroform and died; but whether from the gas or the surgeon's knife I was never informed. Poor girl! She sent for me to pathetise her while the surgeons had her upon the table, but the doctors would not consent for me to be present, so I left her with a sad heart. The next news I had of her she was dead."

Sunderland cites some curious instances in which the firm expectation has been realised that cure would follow a certain religious exercise. Curses set up self-induction through fear; and one can curse oneself, like the girl in Baltimore, in July, 1860, who called on God to strike her blind if she was not telling the truth, and was struck blind instantly. The power of self-induction is exerted involuntarily and unconsciously. Sunderland gives an interesting account of "a remarkable case of self-induction, and the healing energies of the organism." In 1846, when he was lecturing at Boston, Captain H. H. Watson, of the Charleston Navy Yard, asked him to render his daughter, Mrs. Agnes Nichols, insensible to pain while a cancer (a tumour bigger than a hen's egg) was being cut from her breast. He stipulated that Mrs. Nichols should attend his lectures, and come nightly on the platform, so that she should be fully under the influence of Pathetism. When the day for the operation came

Dr. J. B. Walker and three other surgeons prepared to operate.

“At the appointed moment I had Mrs. Nichols spell-bound in the position directed by the surgeon. Her whole muscular system was in a state of cold rigidity resembling the sleep of death. Four surgeons were waiting below, and now, upon notice which I gave them that all was ready, they came up into the room where the patient was entranced. They instantly spread their surgical instruments upon the table, which was supplied with water, sponges, and all the implements necessary on such occasions. The first thing Dr. Walker did was to search for the location of the cancer. After manipulating for some minutes, he turned to the surgeon who stood nearest to him, and said, ‘The bounds of the tumour do not seem to be well defined.’ He then left, and the second surgeon tried to find the tumour; but in a few moments he gave it up, and was succeeded by the third and the fourth. Then Dr. Walker examined the patient once more, and began to look somewhat embarrassed. Each one of the surgeons now examined the patient over again, and twenty minutes more they spent in searching for the tumour, for which one of them had been treating that same lady for a year and a half. The surgeons now left the patient, and putting their heads together in a corner of the room, they whispered something I could not hear; when Dr. Walker said to me, ‘We have concluded it best not to operate.’ I asked, ‘Why not?’ and he replied, ‘We do not find that there is any tumour there.’ With this statement, the sticking plaster, the scalpel, and other instruments disappeared, and now my attention was given to the restoration of the patient. . . . During the few days she had been Pathetised, the tumour and the pain had disappeared as if by magic, and as they have now been gone for fourteen years, the presumption is that she may be considered cured. . . . I give this as a remarkable case of self-induction, and the self-healing energies of the human organism, demonstrating the truth of the theory advocated in these pages. . . . Now what removed it (the tumour)? It was not the direct volition of any one; I did not will it; nor was such a result willed or anticipated by my patient.”

Sunderland attributed the cure to the Vital Forces, to which Pathetism had given a favourable opportunity to operate beneficially, “a work which the Vital Forces always perform where it is needful,

and the conditions of the organism are favourable for such a result." And he adds, "Such is the power of Faith and Hope over one's own nervous system, and by which the Principle of Self-induction here contended for is demonstrated." It is evident, however, from what he himself says, that there was no *conscious* self-induction, no active faith and hope in this cure, which resembles the cures of Mesmer in so far as it seems to have been the result of what he would have called "a crisis," and not of will or intention. In fact, neither Sunderland nor the Electrobiologists arrived at the knowledge of the wonderful power of suggestion to effect cures in a direct manner, although they were so near that knowledge that it seems very strange that they did not stumble upon it. We have seen that Braid, although fully aware of the power of suggestion, did not use it for curative purposes; Fahnestock employed it in a peculiar and very thorough way, and the Mesmerisers as I have said, knew of suggestion under the name of the "magnetic" or "mesmeric" promise, but rarely used it to cure, as they, like Braid, thought they had a surer and better means of cure in their hands.

Sunderland, however, gives some cases in which Faith and Hope played the part that they do in auto-suggestion. Among them is a story which has value for us now, because the cure had a sequel which no one would try to produce experimentally:—

"The story is told of a woman in the workhouse at Yeovil, England, who had long been a cripple, and unable to walk without her crutches. In 1751, the waters of Glastonbury had become famous for their 'healing powers,' and this old woman expressed a strong desire to drink of them, believing that her

cure would be certain if she could only taste of the Glastonbury waters. And so the master of the workhouse procured several bottles of water from an ordinary brook, which he presented to her as from Glastonbury. The old woman swallowed them without delay, and was soon cured. She threw away her crutches, and her cure was pronounced 'miraculous.' However, the cure did not last long, for the master of the workhouse thought it a joke too good to keep, and so he disclosed the deception he had practised upon her. This, of course, 'broke the spell,' and the poor old woman relapsed into her former infirmities, in which she again found a use for her crutches. Benevolence ought to have kept that deception a profound secret. In that case the cure would have been radical and permanent."

The power of self-induction he believed to be exercised constantly and in everything, not merely a power brought into action on rare emergencies :—

"This principle of self-induction obtains from childhood to old age, and it sustains us in all the cares and labours of life. . . . A boy with his kite will exert all the powers of his muscular system for hours without fatigue; but compel him to perform a similar amount of labour against his wishes and he becomes tired in a few moments."

This sounds like a commonplace, but Sunderland points out that the fatigue that comes from doing something disagreeable on compulsion is a very real fatigue, an actual physical state of the system, brought on by a mental cause—a fact which we generally overlook, for the sufferer from this unfortunate kind of self-induction is always accused of "laziness." In fact, Sunderland regarded the power of self-induction as "the greatest of all powers in or over the mind." He says :—

"This power (of self-induction) I suppose to be the higher law, the presiding principle in which we demoninate the *vis medicatrix naturæ*—self-healing force—which always performs the cure, whenever any cure is made."

The cures effected by Sunderland were incidental to the trance; that is to say, he does not seem to

have posed as “a healer.” He maintained that the effect of the pathematic trance was to strengthen and excite the nervous system, and this caused self-induction to set to work to make any repairs in the organism that were required. On the platform he made use of the insensibility incident to the trance to enable small surgical operations to be performed without pain. These, as I have said, consisted generally of tooth extraction, or the cutting down upon and removal of stumps; and sometimes, as already mentioned, the dentist himself was also in the trance state. The “Providence Gazette” of Oct. 1st, 1846, gives an account of a Dr. Hoyt, of Boston, operating in that condition in the Mechanics’ Hall the night before; the audience clamoured for him to be blindfolded while operating, although his eyes were firmly closed, and a handkerchief was therefore fastened over his eyes without incommoding him. The following is the newspaper reporter’s account of a small but usually extremely painful operation; the young lady in question had had a tooth painlessly extracted the evening before on Sunderland’s platform, which she had not had the courage to have taken out while awake.

“On Wednesday, the morning after the lecture, about nine o’clock, another operation was performed upon the same young lady. She had for years been troubled with the large toe upon one of her feet, which had frequently caused so much lameness as to render it difficult for her to walk, and she decided to have the toe amputated. We, in company with several others, were invited to be present. She was entranced, and her mind carried to a camp meeting, where she saw an old fat woman cutting up all kinds of capers, shouting, praying, singing, &c.; and while she was in this situation, the instruments were applied to the nail by running one point of the surgical scissors under the nail, cutting it in two, and then, applying the forceps, the

nail was torn out by the roots by the surgeon, and the patient not stirring a muscle. It was thought best to remove the nail instead of present amputation. We never could before swallow this mysterious science, but now we are fully persuaded; our own eyes have witnessed it. But the mysterious principles which govern the science we do not pretend to know anything about. After waking the patient she knew nothing of what had been performed, but remembered the old fat woman at the camp meeting."

The trance state could be brought on by many of Sunderland's subjects by their own efforts, after they had frequently been pathetised; but this, he thought, was in obedience to the "law" that thinking of the person or object, associated with a certain effect, brings on that effect. Self-pathetised subjects do not seem to have had the self-directing, or self-healing power, which Fahnstock's subjects acquired. Sunderland says that the healing influence of Pathetism is prevented by doubt and fear; therefore, it often happens that "in Pathetism, a patient increases the state of things which he makes an effort to overcome," as was the case in the "rollicking" French funeral.

We have seen that Dr. Fahnstock used to render his subjects impervious to the "fluid" of the Mesmerisers, and impenetrable by the "will" or "belief" of other operators by simply explaining to them the *rationale* of Statuvolism. Sunderland also fortified his subjects so that no one else could influence them; but he relied on awakening self-induction for that purpose by a process that would now be called "Suggestion." He simply made an assertion in an impressive manner to the desired effect. Buchanan and Sunderland for years carried on a platform warfare for the instruction and to the amusement of

the public, and the following extract from the "Boston Daily Mail" shows how Sunderland gave "check" to his opponent :—

"A gentleman (Mr. J. Mathews, 406, Washington Street), known to be what Dr. Buchanan calls 'highly impressible,' was operated on by the Doctor and others with success; and some experiments performed upon him by the Doctor before his class at Ritchie Hall a few weeks since, were declared perfectly satisfactory in proof of his peculiar theory. Shortly after, Mr. Mathews went to Mr. Sunderland, who 'fixed' him so that Dr. Buchanan could not affect him in the least degree. On finding, after an hour's trial, that he could not transmit his neuraura into him, the Doctor said he must get a clairvoyant to examine the patient, to see what Mr. S. had done to prevent him from neurologising him! And, although Dr. B. is not able to make the least imaginable impression on this gentleman, he is still more susceptible than ever before; so much so, that Mr. Sunderland is able to produce almost any effect on him in a moment of time. This, we are told, is one case out of numbers of the same kind produced by Mr. Sunderland in this city, from which it would seem that Pathetism, like Aaron's rod, is destined to swallow up its rivals."

Sunderland, who quotes the above paragraph, says: "And now, perhaps, the reader will be interested if I were to disclose here the whole secret of what I did to Mr. Mathews, which so effectually prevented Dr. Buchanan from 'impressing' him. Well, here it is: I put my hand on his head and said to him, 'Now Dr. Buchanan cannot impress you at all?' and as I said, so it came to pass. This is Pathetism."

And now, finally, we may ask, What was Laroy Sunderland's process for producing the pathematic condition? That process, or rather that method, is so simple that he finds it necessary to preface it with a long explanation, from which I may, for the same reason, make an extract. He says :—

"An influence supposes an object, which becomes the subject

of motion. The intelligent speaker inquires as to the words he shall use in order to influence his auditory. The object in writing or speaking is the exertion of this power over the minds of others. . . . To be successful, the means used must, in all cases, be met with an appropriate state of mind in those over whom it is to be extended. This peculiar state constitutes *susceptibility*. . . . And the multitude look on and wonder 'by what authority' or 'by what power' these things are done. Thus it was in witnessing the demonstrations at my public lectures. The question was ever put to me as to how these things were done. And my answer was always the same, frankly and candidly given; and when I have affirmed that precisely one and the same 'influence' entranced people which brought them to my lectures, I have found now and then a few who could understand and believe what I said. I invite the people to come to my lectures, and they come. I tell them that I will entrance them, and the trance follows as the result of what I say. And yet, after all these explanations, so freely and fully given, it has been a common occurrence for persons in my audience to attribute the 'influence' to 'electrical currents,' to my spectacles, to my handkerchief, to my watch key, to the head of my cane, on which I requested them to look while proceeding with my remarks.

"The secret which may be said to secure success in these miracles, consists in two conditions or elements, which must meet and combine in order to produce the desired results. One of these elements, which seems to be active, we may call *positive*; the other, which is passive, we say is *negative*. These are merely relative terms, which assist in understanding what is implied in these two elements, which must be combined when there is a visible operator. At other times, when there is no visible agent, the negative element becomes active, and brings on changes, by that principle of *self-induction* already explained. Here is the first element, which we will call positive:—

"THAT YOU ASSUME THE AUTHORITY; AND INVEST YOURSELF WITH THE CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE POWER EVERY WAY ADEQUATE FOR THE PERFORMANCE OF THE WORK YOU HAVE IN VIEW.

"It is not always necessary that the positive operator should be either intelligent or learned. Indeed, the more ignorant a 'Dr.,' 'Professor,' or 'Lecturer' often happens to be, the more he will assume in regard to himself and his powers; and the more that is assumed, the greater his success. . . . Indeed, the more extravagant the assumption in behalf of 'Alchemy,' 'Witchcraft,' or 'Inspiration,' the greater the faith of the multitude."

Sunderland proceeds to say that the confidence in oneself which commands the faith of others was seen in perfection in Jesus; and he quotes various texts from the gospel narrative in corroboration, such as :—

“And they were all amazed, insomuch that they questioned among themselves, saying, What thing is this? For with authority he commanded even the unclean spirits (diseases), and they do obey him.” Mark 1, 24.

He goes on to say that the want of authority, or of adequate power, insures failure. And then he states the second “element,” or requisite, thus:—

“THAT IN THE SICK, WHO ARE TO BE HEALED, AS ALSO IN ALL WHO ARE TO BE ENTRANCED, THERE BE FOUND A NEGATIVE CONDITION, A CORRESPONDING FAITH, A CONSCIOUS YIELDING OF THE MIND AND THE NERVOUS FORCES, TO AN IDEA—THE INFLUENCE, BELIEVED TO BE EXERTED OVER THEM.”

He then quotes some more biblical passages in support of this, such as :—

“Jesus said unto them, Believe ye that I am able to do this? They said unto him, Yea, Lord. Then he touched their eyes, saying, According to your faith be it unto you. And their eyes were opened.” Matt. 9, 28.

Sunderland is described as a small man, with a large head and a very determined countenance. After his lecturing period he gave much attention to clairvoyance, having been very successful in the development of what is called “near” clairvoyance, and thought reading; he does not seem to have believed in “far” clairvoyance, or sight at considerable distances.

Electro=Biology.

Another independent system of Psycho-physics which invaded the field of Magnetism about the same period as those of Braid, Fahnstock, and

Sunderland, was Electro-biology, a system which has always been particularly obnoxious both to Mesmerisers and Hypnotisers. Electro-biology is popularly supposed to be a kind of reveberation across the Atlantic of Braid's Hypnotism, sufficiently mixed with charlatanism to suit the purposes of itinerant lecturers and uneducated audiences; and it is generally said to have been discovered or invented by "a certain American called Grimes," in 1848, with whose name are coupled those of Darling, Dods, and Stone. The fact, however, is that Dods' "Electric Psychology" long antedates both Grimes's Etherology or Electro-biology, and Braid's Hypnotism, and that we must go to Dr. Dods for the *rationale* of the practices of the electro-biologists, with whom he (Dods) was at loggerheads for having pirated his ideas and methods. In his work, "Electrical Psychology," published in 1850, he italicises the following claim, which certainly seems to me to be well founded:—

"The science of Electrical Psychology is identical with that of Electro-biology, and the latter has no existence only what it draws from the former, unless it be the mere half of its name."

As far back as 1830, John Bovie Dods became convinced that electricity is "the connecting link between mind and inert matter," and not only so, but "is the grand agent employed by the Creator to move and govern the universe." In 1832 he delivered two lectures to that effect at the Lyceum at Taunton, Mass., and the substance of these lectures he embodied in six more elaborate ones, which he delivered in January, 1843, at the Marlborough Chapel in Boston, "by request of members

of both branches of the Massachusetts Legislature, then in session in that city"; and these lectures were published in the United States, and republished in England. In February, 1850 (at which period he still gave a knowledge of his processes only to those who paid well for it), Dr. Dods received an invitation from seven prominent members of the United States Senate to lecture on Electrical Psychology before that body, Daniel Webster and Henry Clay being among the signatories, and the Hall of Representatives being suggested as a convenient place. Nine lectures were given by Dr. Dods in reply to this invitation, and these were published soon afterwards, together with three others which had been subsequently delivered elsewhere; and in these latter lectures he fully enunciates his theory, and tells the "secret" of his practical method for producing the hypnotic condition.

Mr. Waite attributes Electro-biology to J. Stanley Grimes, whom he calls its "deviser," and he says that its "invention" was many years posterior to the discovery of Hypnotism, and that it seems reasonable to regard the two processes as progressive stages of one and the same art, "of which the paternity rests with Braid." Mr. Waite says that Grimes "mentions Braid in his book, 'The Philosophy of Mesmerism,'" but denies to his principles and facts the merit of novelty, "not on account of any rival claim of his own, but on the ground that they are old knowledge." It was very natural that Grimes should do so, since he was a student of mesmerism, and Braid claimed only to reproduce some of the phenomena of mesmerism by a method that was

more rapid than that of magnetisers. Grimes did not profess to be a magnetiser at all, but affirmed that his system was distinct, and it was with Dr. Dods that he carried on a battle for originality, or priority of invention, not with Braid at all. I quite agree with Mr. Waite that "it would be curious indeed if the lapse of five or six years should have been insufficient for the report of hypnotism to have crossed the Atlantic"; but there is quite as much likelihood that a crossing took place from America to England as from England to America; and there is no doubt whatever that there were systems of Psychophysics in independent existence in the United States, including Dod's Electrical Psychology, before Braid met Lafontaine, which had no need to take anything from Braid; for the only resemblance they had to Braid's Hypnotism was in the use that some of them made of the fixed gaze as a means for bringing on the hypnotic condition, and that practice they no doubt took from the Mesmerisers, as Braid himself did. It is certain that Braid studied the processes of the Electro-biologists, and was able to produce their phenomena, but refrained from doing so for therapeutical purposes, as he believed he had a better method of his own; whereas that the electro-biologist copied Braid is mere conjecture. Moreover, Braid nowhere makes the smallest claim to have been the inspirer of Electro-biology, that claim being put forward only by our present hypnotists. Having done so excellently for Braid as his Editor, Mr. Waite is no doubt justified in being solicitous on his behalf; but I venture to think that his jealousy for Braid's reputation has tempted him to be somewhat

unfair to Electro-biology when he speaks of it thus:—

“The subject fell, in the country of its origin, into the hands of extravagant theorists, who used the vague term in the interests of tawdry speculation and explained the whole universe in bombastic lectures. A typical representative of this worthless school was one John Bovee Dod*, whose work on the ‘Philosophy of Mesmerism and Electrical Psychology’ had an enormous sale on both sides of the Atlantic among uncritical persons.”

The book to which Mr. Waite alludes is apparently an early one, for in his “Philosophy of Electrical Psychology” Dr. Dods makes no mention of mesmerism, and it is in this latter work that he unfolds his theory, and describes his methods.

Let us, however, look into Electro-biology a little for ourselves, taking the explanation of it that is given by its “typical representative,” John Bovee Dods, whose style is, I grant, somewhat high-flown, but who certainly does not seem to me to deserve the magnificent scorn of Mr. Waite; and whose “Electrical Psychology” is, as I have said, the same thing as Electro-biology only called by another but similar name.

To us to-day the name of “Electrical Psychology” smacks, no doubt, of charlatanism; but seventy years ago it had not that flavour, for then much less was known about the nature of either electricity or magnetism than is the case at present; indeed, the meaning of the names, electricity and magnetism, was then so indeterminate that it was almost a matter of indifference which of them was used when a cosmic force or “universal agent” was intended. Mesmer himself at first believed that his “universal agent” was of the nature of electricity, and Laurent

*His name, by the bye, is Dods, not Dod.

de Jussieu, the celebrated botanist who signed the minority Report of the Royal Commission of 1784, said "Every living being is a real electric body; those who have too much electricity give it out, those who have too little suck it in." This he thought to apply to plants as well as to animals; and the "animal heat," to which he attributed the phenomena of Animal Magnetism, was believed by him to be a form of electricity. Since those early days several other theorists have invoked electricity as an explanation of many of the phenomena of life. But in no case should the names "electricity" and "magnetism" be taken in this reference in their present technical sense. Dr. Dods states this position very clearly, for he says: "I desire it to be distinctly understood that when I speak of the electricity, galvanism, and magnetism of the human system, or of the nervous fluid, I mean one and the same thing"; and his whole book shows that this also is to be understood when he speaks of the ambiguous force as a cosmic power. Were this remembered, the name "Electro-biology" would not act as it does now, as a *pons asinorum*, over which so few people can pass to the study or appreciation of the theory and facts which it is intended to represent. Dr. Dods's Electrical Psychology is nothing less than a system of nature, resembling in some ways Mesmer's Animal Magnetism; but of Animal Magnetism there was very little knowledge at that time in the United States, although Lafayette, who was one of Mesmer's pupils, had written enthusiastically to General Washington about it; and lectures on the subject had been delivered in New York in 1829, by Du

Commun, a pupil of Mesmer, and at Pawtucket, R.I., by Poyen de St. Sauveur, in 1836, and by Dr. Underhill in various places from 1834 to 1838. Dr. Dods himself, however, had studied Mesmer's theories, and had published a commentary on them; and he makes this distinction—"Electrical Psychology is the doctrine of impressions, Mesmerism is the doctrine of sympathy."

Dr. Dods attempted to do what all other hypnotisers have shirked—to connect theory with practice. Even Mesmer made no comprehensible attempt to connect causes logically with effects; and I have shown elsewhere how his pupils soon threw away his theories, and became pure empirics in *baquets* and "chains," and afterwards in passes and touches. Dods complains that the electro-biologists brought Electrical Psychology into contempt by their ignorance of his philosophy; and it is impossible to form a just or adequate estimate of his system without beginning, as he did, at the root of things, and following him step by step as he marched (as he supposed) in unbroken line to his practical results. The whole subject of the interaction of mind and body has become now a question of science rather than of philosophy, and science begins at the little end of things—with atoms, and molecules, and microbes—so that one is apt to get impatient with anyone who begins as Dods does, in the old-fashioned way, at the big end of things; nevertheless, it is necessary to humour him in that matter, or any understanding of Electrical Psychology is impossible. The following quotation shows the foundation on which he builds his system:—

“Duration and space both exist of philosophical necessity, and are absolutely eternal. Endless duration is the age of Jehovah, and space is the empire in which He dwells and reigns. This space was eternally filled with mind and invisible matter in its original state. They both exist of philosophical necessity. . . . Hence, mind and primeval matter are both co-existent and eternal. Indeed, one could not exist without the other, because that electricity, which is original and eternal matter, is the body of God. All other bodies are, therefore, emanations from His body, and all other spirits are emanations from His spirit. Hence all things are of God. He has poured himself throughout all His works.”

That which has no form, and occupies no space, can have no existence; but a thinking mind must have existed before the objects which show thoughtfulness in their construction could have come into being. Yet mind, although it has existence, is not material. Mind is neither material nor immaterial, but is a substance *sui generis*. He says:—

“I regard mind as living and embodied form — as that incomprehensible element whose nature it is to possess life and motion, as much so as it is the nature of other substances to possess inertia.”

All material substances possess inertia, and are difficult to move in proportion to their density. Electricity is the least dense of inert substances, and the easiest to move. It sets all other material substances in motion. It is “the last link in the immeasurable chain”; but before it can move substances more inert than it is, it has to be set in motion itself. Electricity is set in motion by

“the finest, most sublime, and brilliant substance in being— a substance that possesses the attributes of inherent or self-motion and living power, and from which all other motion and power in the immeasurable universe are derived. This is the Infinite Mind, and possesses embodied form. He is a living being. This Infinite Mind comes in contact with electricity, gives it motion, arms it with power. . . . Mind or spirit is above all, and absolutely disposes

of and controls all. Hence mind, and its agent, electricity, are both imponderable—are both imperceptible and co-eternal. . . . As the Eternal One wraps clouds and darkness round about Him and holds back the face of His throne, so many do not believe in His existence, because He is unseen, while all visible objects of creation are to them so many realities. But the very position here assumed is an erroneous one. The very reverse of this is true. What is seen is not the reality, but is only the manifestation of the unseen.”

Dods denied any inherent attractive power in matter, and substituted electrical attractions and repulsions for several other forces which science regards as distinct. He says:—

“This globe, as a body, is moved by the positive and negative forces of electrical action. All the operations of nature in the earth and elements are carried on by the same power. Whether it be crystallisations, or petrifications, the growth of vegetation, or its decomposition—motions and changes in air and water—or the crumbling particles of the mountain rock—all motions, visible and invisible, that transpire in the mineral and animal kingdoms, and all their multifarious operations, are produced by electricity, which is the universal agent appointed to keep up the order and harmony of the Universe. And yet it is certain that electricity does not possess inherent motion as its attribute. Motion belongs to one substance only, and that is mind.”

In regard to mind, Dods seems to have anticipated “Mental Science”:—

“Mind or spirit is of itself embodied and living form. It is spiritual organism in absolute perfection, and from mind itself all form and beauty emanate. The body of man is but an outshoot or manifestation of his mind. If I may be indulged the expression, it is the ultimate of his mind. . . . What a singular mind the lobster must have, for he has a singular body!

“The individual life of every link of the whole animal and vegetable chain is an emanation from the Infinite Mind. . . . All vegetable life, as well as animal, is therefore a species of mind. They are both emanations from the Creator, are both immortal, and will retain their separate existence and identity without end.

“Electricity is the connecting link between mind and inert matter, and is the agent that the mind employs to contract and relax the muscles, and to produce all the voluntary and involuntary motions of the body.

"Mind cannot come in contact with gross matter . . . mind touches electricity, electricity touches nerve, nerve touches muscle, muscle touches bone, and bone raises dead matter. . . Will is not a substance but a mere energy, or result of mind."

Just as Dr. Dods's "Infinite Mind" resembles the "Mahat" of the Theosophists, and his "electricity" is like their "Fohat," so also he pictures the human mind very much as they do their "mind body." He says :--

"The mind, as a living being of embodied form, has its spiritual brain, and spiritual organs answering to the corresponding phrenological organs of the physical brain through which it manifests itself.

"The mind has its spiritual fingers, arms, limbs, and all its lineaments of form corresponding to those of the body. The mind holds its throne in the brain, and possessing in itself the power of feeling and motion, it merely stirs its spiritual fingers, or wields its spiritual arm, and through the electric action of the nerves, which are laid, like so many telegraph wires, between the two, the natural finger and the natural arm are compelled to make an exactly corresponding motion. . . All operations, convulsions, and motions begin in the unseen substance of the body, and end in its gross and solid parts. These are last moved, and last affected."

Dods, like most other pre-Darwinians, believed in special creations, and in the continual manifestation of the providence of God; yet he could not be blind to the fact that the will of God is constantly frustrated (to all appearance) by the failure of things to turn out as they were evidently intended to do. Things continually abort, and every such failure is a tremendous "religious difficulty." Mill said that he could not see how God could be both all-powerful and all-good. Dods gets over the difficulty in a way that reminds one of the Eastern division of the divine power into legislative and executive—the former lodged in Gods, the latter in Goddesses; but his

version of this old idea distinctly anticipates the very recent conception of the hypnotists of a "sub-conscious" self, or personality. He tells us that there is:—

"One important point with relation to mind which has been entirely overlooked by philosophers. I mean the involuntary powers. To speak of the involuntary powers of the mind will certainly produce a singular impression on your hearts; and the strangeness of the idea may, perhaps, fill you with surprise. But strange as it may appear, it is, nevertheless, true that mind possesses the two grand attributes of voluntary and involuntary power. These two constitute the mind as a living being of embodied form."

According to Dods, the power by which our organic or vegetative life is carried on is our involuntary power, for it is as truly we ourselves that make our hearts beat, or stomach digest, as it is we ourselves that move our arms and legs. Even so it is with the Infinite Mind: and it is (as we would now express it) the *sub-conscious part of the Divine Mind* that is responsible for the failures in Nature. For:—

"It is the peculiar province of the voluntary power of the Infinite Mind to plan, arrange, dispose, and create worlds and their inhabitants; and it is the peculiar province of His involuntary power to govern and control these worlds and their inhabitants through the fixed laws of Nature."

We have seen that Dods credits the Infinite Mind with two powers: voluntary power, which is positive and male, and which wills, plans, schemes, and arranges; and involuntary power, which is negative and female, and controls, moves, and executes. And both of these powers "run through every department of the Universe, and thread universal nature." The Hebrew word "create," he tells us, means to *concrete* or *consolidate*, not to

“make out of nothing,” which is an absurdity. Adam was “created” out of the dust:—

“I, therefore, contend that all things were made out of electricity, which is not only an invisible and imponderable substance, but is primeval and eternal matter. It contains the invisible and imponderable properties of all things in being.”

All the chemical elements exist in electricity *in the electrical condition*, and they are then in their invisible and positive state; when they become materialised they are solid and negative, and are then known to us. All things are, in fact, at first *held in solution*, as it were, in this primeval matter, which Dods calls “electricity,” and which is uncommonly like the “prakriti” or “muluprakriti” of the Brahmins; and it is exceedingly curious to find that in a recent lecture at Burlington House Sir William Crookes described the latest scientific novelty, the “electrons,” as “disembodied discharges of electricity, which were possibly the basis of matter itself,”* and said that “we have almost reached the stage where matter and force seem to merge into one another.” *Force*, of course, would come under “the involuntary powers” of the Infinite Mind—science leaves its “voluntary powers” strictly alone. Dods thought that the sun is pure electricity, and that it continually throws a stream of electricity on the earth, which causes all growth and development, as well as the earth’s motions; but he does not seem to have quite grasped the recent idea of the universal circulation of force—that the circuit must necessarily be “closed” by the passage of some compensatory element from earth to sun in the

* What a pity it is that the “electrons,” like the “ions” and “neurons,” are purely hypothetical!

shape, perhaps, of a "psychic force," the manufacture of which (who knows?) may possibly be the reason for man's existence. But, as he says that "the law of equilibrium is the grand central law of the universe," Dods must have imagined some cosmic circulation; for he believed in a living, dynamic universe, and equilibrium without circulation would be the static equilibrium of inertia.

Dods believed in the Biblical account of Creation, which implies that everything came into being a component part of the world just as God intended it to be; and that nothing, therefore, is more "perfect" than the rest. He believed that the Infinite Mind has always existed, and that primitive matter (electricity) has been since all eternity; and it seemed to him no greater wonder that the universe should have come into existence in a moment than in a millennium of millenniums. We are apt to forget that from the old religious standpoint the theory of Evolution is intensely anthropomorphic. It implies that ever since the fire-mist, God has been puzzling out how to make man, and has arrived at His present not quite satisfactory result only after an almost interminable series of experiments, which turned out failures; and that to attain even this end Omnipotence is obliged to plant the seed of a universe, and tend it, and wait till it grows, as a man plants a seed in his garden, and waters it, and waits for flower and fruit. It is evident that when Dods says that "man is an epitome of the universe," he means more than that we possess a combination of the attributes and qualities of all of the lower creation; he means that our minds, like the Infinite Mind, are

endowed with both voluntary and involuntary powers. If one might so express it without irreverence, Dods believed that God and man contain the same ingredients. It follows that in man, as well as in the rest of the Cosmos, the natural forces tend to the preservation and re-establishment of health—that, in fact, our equilibrium is a stable equilibrium, to which we recur of our own accord when the cause of mischief is removed.* We do not need to go to the chemist for “stuff” to mend us, or to the doctor to do the patching; we have both doctor and chemist in ourselves, in the shape of the voluntary and involuntary powers of the mind. The electro-nervous force, Dods tells us, heals because it contains all the elements in the electrical condition, and “the formative power of the mind” selects what is wanted, and materialises it, and employs it to repair and cure. There are no doctors among the plants; “the invisible electro-nervous fluid” is the healing principle in the vegetable as well as in the animal world. It “moves and equalises the sap, and the sap affects the wood,” just as it “moves and equalises the blood, and the blood affects the flesh.”

It must be remembered that Dods pictured mind as something real, possessing powers—not merely as thought, reason, understanding, and will, which are often understood when “mind” is mentioned, but which, he says, are only functions or powers of the mind. Sensation, too, is mental: “The true philo-

* This is the idea of Mesmer and of all his school of hypnotists. Our medical hypnotisers are mostly of opinion that *they* cure disease by suggestion, as the orthodox doctor thinks he does by his medicines.

sophical reason why a tooth can be extracted, or a surgical operation performed, without pain, is that all feeling or sensation is in the mind—strictly speaking, the body itself has no feeling.” Dods points out a curious result of the opposite belief; he remarks that the great body of Christians rely wholly on the resurrection of the *body* for the future existence of the *spirit*, which he calls pure materialism, and declares to be the same view as is taken by the atheists—that spirit is merely the result of organised matter.

Dods teaches that the blood is both electrified and oxygenated in the lungs, which are positive, and the blood comes from them charged with positive electricity, and returns to them charged with negative electricity. The blood gives out its positive electricity while passing through the capillaries; and this positive electricity is taken up by the nerves, and stored in the brain for the use of the mind. The only “impurity” in the blood is the want of electricity; disease begins in the nerves, not in the blood. The electricity of the system may be thrown out of balance either by mental or bodily *impressions*. A mental impression attacks the weakest organ—lungs, heart, liver, kidney, brain. The same is the case with physical impressions, such as “sudden exposure to damp air, wet feet, sitting on a cold rock, lying on the ground and falling to sleep, or sitting with the back to a current of air.” With regard to the cure of disease, Dods says:—

“The same diseases that the mind, or even physical impressions can cause, the mind can remove, if the patient be in the psychological state; because mental impressions, to any extent we please, can be produced upon him. It is therefore

immaterial from what source a disease may arise, or what kind of a disease it may be, the mind can, by its impressions, cause the nervous fluid to cure it, or at least to produce upon it a salutary influence. If exposure to heat or cold, dampness or dryness, or to any of the elements, should call the nervous fluid to the lungs, and disturb the circulation of the blood, so as to produce inflammation, the mind could disperse and equalise it, and thus effect a cure as readily as though this inflammation of the lungs had been brought on by melancholy or grief, or by any other mental distress."

He says that mental impressions may require medicines to coöperate ; but " medicine produces a physical impression on the system, but never heals a disease . . . the sanative power is in the individual, and not in the medicine." This, of course, is a long way from hypnotic suggestion as an actual practical method for curing disease ; and although Dods seems to be undoubtedly right in supposing that mental impressions can cure disease (for suggestion acts by mental impression), still he does not seem to have understood, or at least to have appreciated, the *compelling power* which suggestion has upon the involuntary functions ; and what he says appears to apply more to the various systems of " mind cure " which since his time have sprung up in the United States, than to straightforward hypnotic suggestion. Mental and bodily impressions are the *remote* causes of disease ; there is only one *proximate* cause — disturbance of the nervous fluid, or electricity, of the system. Becoming " acclimated " is a question of regaining disturbed electrical equilibrium. Dods says that the circulating system consists of two distinct systems: the arterial, which carries positive blood ; and the venous, which carries negative blood ; and the heart separates and

yet unites them. The heart does not cause the circulation by its muscular power, which for this purpose it is calculated would require a force of fifty tons—a palpable absurdity:—

“The heart does not circulate the blood at all; nor, on the other hand, does the blood cause the heart to throb. The heart and lungs both receive their actions from the cerebellum, which is the fountain and origin of organic life and involuntary motion. Hence the involuntary nerves from the cerebellum throb the heart and heave the lungs, and the electricity contained in the air they inspire circulates the blood and supplies the brain with nervous fluid.”

His theory of disease is much the same as Mesmer’s:—

“I contend that there is one great cause for all diseases, and this is the disturbing of the vital force of the body. There is in every human being a certain amount of electricity. This is, as I have said, the most subtile and fine material in the body; is the power, as has been shown, that moves the blood; and is the agent by which the mind, through the nerves, contracts the muscles, and produces motion. And as all the convulsions and operations in nature and in man invariably begin in the invisible and finest substance in being, and end in the most gross, so electricity, in the human system, is the cause of all the effects there produced, whether salutary or otherwise. When this electricity is equalised throughout the nervous system, the blood will also be equalised in its circulation, and the natural result is health. But when it is thrown out of balance the blood will, in like manner, be also disturbed, and the natural result is disease.”

Although Dods speaks of the involuntary powers of the mind, he did not imagine a distinct “sub-conscious personality,” working through the ganglionic or sympathetic nerve system, which “subliminal self” is the distinct feature of recent hypnotism. He says:—

“We have two distinct brains — the cerebrum with its two hemispheres and six lobes, and the cerebellum. . . . The cerebrum is the great fountain of the voluntary nerves, through

which the voluntary powers of the mind ever act. The cerebellum is the fountain of the involuntary nerves through which the involuntary powers of the mind ever act."

As there is a communication, he says, between the voluntary and involuntary nerves—since mind acts on body, and body on mind—the actual seat of the mind is probably in the place where the voluntary nerves commence, and the involuntary nerves terminate—in the *medulla oblongata*; but the point of contact between these nerves is in the forehead—in the part of the brain where the consciousness of self is seated:—

"The nerve or family of nerves through which the impressions are communicated to the mind, and by the mind to the body, to move its various parts, is located in the organ of Individuality. . . . Hence all voluntary motion originating in the mind is communicated to the organ of Individuality, and from thence is transmitted through correspondent nerves to that part of the body where the mind directs motion to be made. . . . The phrenological organs of the human brain are but a daguerreotype manifestation—a result of the correspondent spiritual organs of the living mind."

As we shall see, the method employed by Dods, and (as he asserted) stolen by the electro-biologists, hinges on this idea, that the organ of Individuality is a kind of "button," by pressing which contact between the mind and the electricity of the nerves is established, and the hypnotic condition is induced. He says:—

"The mind, by coming in contact with the electricity of the nerves, moves it with a force equal to the impression which the operator makes upon the patient, and sends it to that part of the system to which the patient's attention is directed. These various impressions throw the electricity of the nerves to every part of the system with such power as to burst through all functional obstructions, equalise the nervous forces, and also the circulation of the blood, and thus remove disease, and still pain."

Dods believed that those whose minds are positive and in equilibrium resist the attacks of disease ; while those who are afraid, and picture disease to themselves (auto-suggestion) are likely to be attacked. Fear, he says, is the cause of half of the cases during an epidemic. As we have seen, he thinks that mental impressions can cure disease even when it arises from physical impressions ; and there he goes further than most of our suggestionists do, for they think that " medicine for the imagination " will cure only " diseases of the imagination " ; but he does not seem to go so far as some hypnotists do at present, for he apparently does not think that mental impressions will set up repair of tissue when there has been organic destruction. His theory that medicine produces a physical impression on the system, but never cures disease, and that sanative power is in the individual, and not in the medicine, makes him believe that " medicines and mental impressions only call that power to the right spot so as to enable it to work." The efficacy of bread pills and coloured water as medicines, to which every medical man will bear testimony, supports this theory, namely, that medicines often act as what are now called physical or mechanical " suggestives." Dods seems to have thought any kind of beneficent mental impression legitimate. He quotes a curious case from Dr. John D. Warren's work on Tumours. A lady called on Dr. Warren to consult him as to whether rubbing a tumour with the hand of a corpse would cure it, as she had the opportunity to do it. His first impulse was to tell her that such an idea was superstitious nonsense ; but, on second thoughts,

remembering the well-known power of "imagination," he said she might try it. She did so, and was cured.

Death has often been poetically compared to sleep, but Dods thought that it is actually a period of rest and recuperation for the involuntary powers of the mind. Our heart, lungs, and other internal organs go on functioning from the cradle to the grave; not until we die do the involuntary powers, on which these organs depend, get any rest. Now, Dods thought that there is a *trance element in death* which has the restorative effect; and as the trance condition can be produced artificially, and without danger to life, he looked upon this application of electro-psychology, not only as a valuable, though utterly neglected, method for curing disease, but even as a means of renewing life. He adduced two facts (as he regarded them) in support of this view: (1) The strongly curative effects of the deep "magnetic" sleep, which was frequently used by the old magnetisers as the sole means of cure. (2) The curative effects of the much deeper natural trance when it does not end in death, as it unfortunately generally does. It ends in death now because the doctors do not recognise it, and take measures to recall the patient to life at the proper moment, but allow those in the trance to die or be buried alive; for Dods believed (as is now pretty generally suspected) that "thousands in this condition have been prematurely buried, come to life, struggled, turned over in their coffins, and perished!" The curative effects of these trances are, of course, made evident only when the patient awakens spontaneously

in time ; or when he is rescued accidentally after burial ; in those cases, however ill he may have been, the lucky individual “awakes to life and health,” although he may, as Dods expresses it, have “expired with a distressing disease.” Spontaneous, death-like trance, he says, only occurs in those whose *foramen ovale* has not closed at birth, which must be recognised as an accidental imperfection ; but the artificial production of the trance state comes within the order of Nature, and is as legitimate a means of cure as any other.

Electrical Psychology is concerned with two kinds of “control,” electrical and psychological ; but these are in reality two stages of the same control—“electrical” control being the control by the operator of the subject’s muscles, and “psychological,” his control of the subject’s mind. “To control is to cure,” says Dods ; therefore to know how to control is to know how to cure. To be controlled a subject must be in *rappport* with the operator—must “stand in a negative relation to the operator as to the doctrine of impressions.” To effect this, the operator must “take communication” with his subject ; which may be done either by physical contact, or by contact of the auras, for :—

“As man is part of the universe, he constantly takes into his system large portions of electricity with the air he inspires, with the water he drinks, and with the food he eats. And by mental and muscular action, and the common operations of animal life, he unceasingly throws it off through the nervous force. On passing through his system into the surrounding elements, it forms around him his electric or magnetic circle. How large this circle may be is as yet unknown to us. Hence, when two individuals come within a certain distance of each other, their circles meet, and touch each other at two points.”

It is only the very sensitive, those who are naturally in the negative condition, who are affected by the contact of auras:—

“Some persons are naturally in this condition, were born in it, live it, and will die in it. . . . As about one in twenty-five is naturally in this state, so I can step before an audience of a thousand persons, state to them ‘what I intend to do, so that all may understand me: and then request them all to close their eyes firmly and say, ‘You cannot open your eyes!’ and forty out of the thousand will be unable to do so.”

Those who are not in the negative condition naturally and those who are partly in it (about one in thirteen), must be brought into it wholly before “communication” can be effectually taken. The negative state may be induced in three ways: By mesmerism; by pressure on the median or ulnar nerve, and on the organ of individuality; and by “the coin.” On being awakened from the mesmeric condition, but before being de-mesmerised, the subject is in the “psychological,” or, as we would say, “suggestionable” condition. To awaken the subject from the mesmeric into the hypnotic state:—

“Tell him, ‘I will count three and at the same instant I say three, I will slap my hands together, and you will be wide awake and in your perfect senses. Are you ready?’ If he answers in the affirmative, you will proceed to count—one, two, THREE! The word ‘three’ should be spoken suddenly, and in a very loud voice, and at the same instant the hands should be smitten together. This will instantly awake him. Those who are thus aroused from mesmeric slumber to wakefulness are, with few exceptions in the electro-psychological state and you can immediately proceed to experiment upon them.”*

* Teste gives a curious instance of the persistence of an illusion when the subject was in the psychological condition, after having been awakened from the magnetic state. The consideration of such problems does not trouble the Suggestionists, for they ignore them. Teste says:—

“Having magnetised Rosalie, I ask what it is they (those present) desire I should make her see. ‘A little girl,’ replied one of

To induce the necessary negative condition in the subject by the second method:—

“Take the individual by the hand as though you were going to shake hands. Press your thumb with moderate force upon the ulnar nerve. . . . The pressure, though firm, should not be so great as to produce the least pain or uneasiness to your subject. When you first take him by the hand, request him to place his eyes upon yours, and to keep them fixed, so that he can see every motion of your mind expressed in your countenance. Continue this position, and also the pressure on this cubital nerve, for half a minute or more. Then request him to close his eyes, and with the fingers gently brush downwards several times over the eyelids, as though fastening them firmly together. Throughout the whole process, feel within yourself a fixed determination to close them, so as to express that determination fully in your countenance and manner. Having done this, place your other hand on the top of his head and press your thumb firmly on the organ of individuality, bearing partially downwards, and with the other thumb still pressing the ulnar nerve, tell him: ‘You cannot open your eyes.’ Remember that your manner, your expression of countenance, your motions, and your language must all be of the most positive character.”

Pressure on the median nerve is even more efficacious than pressure on the ulnar. If little or no effect is produced at the first trial, you should

the bystanders. I then approach a chair and strive, in making some passes, to fix my idea to it, as we have often done together. Rosalie, whom I bring right before me, after a moment's hesitation, concludes by saying to me, ‘It is little Hortense.’ Having sent her into another room, I remove the chair from its place in order that she may not recognise it; but I hesitate, and place it in several different places before fixing it. I then go to awake Rosalie and proceed with her into the little room. Now that she is well awake, what does she see? Not one little girl, but six little girls, to my great astonishment. In vain I endeavour, by transverse passes, to abolish my manifold creation; it is quite impossible. Curious to have an explanation of all this, I again put Rosalie to sleep, and ask her the solution of the enigma.

‘In good faith, sir,’ replies the girl, ‘you need not have removed the chair from its place; then I should have seen but one child; but everywhere you put it down the fluid passes through, and formed a child quite like that one which is above.’

‘What is the fluid?’

‘A slight wind passing out of your fingers.’”

proceed to repeat the suggestion several times. As soon as your subject is obliged to make any motion you dictate, and unable to make any motion you forbid, he is in the "electrical" condition; some get no further by this process, and to find out whether your subject is in the "psychological" (or "suggestionable") state you must try whether he will accept hallucinations—that a chair is a cow, and so on.

If he will not do so, you must have recourse to the third method, "the coin." This is a little disc of zinc, into the centre of which a smaller disc of silver has been let, the two being fastened together by a copper rivet; the whole having somewhat the appearance of an eye:

"Place this coin in the palm of his hand, with the silver side up, and request him to bring it within about a foot of his eyes. He must remain motionless as a statue, except the natural winking of the eyes. His mind should be perfectly resigned, and kept entirely passive to surrounding impressions. The eyes should be placed upon the coin, as though riveted there; and during the whole twenty or twenty-five minutes they should, on no consideration, be raised to look at any object or person whatever, and the spectators should be as still as the grave. If the eyes have a tendency to close, he should not strive to keep them open, but let them close."

When you remove the "coin" from the subject's hand you must proceed to take communication as in the second method. The "coin" as described is the best thing to gaze at, but all substances produce the desired effect in different degrees, "because all are charged more or less with the universal electricity, and continually throw it off." For Dods explanation of the phenomena is that we are constantly absorbing electricity, but while in a positive state we get rid of it, or use it up as fast as received; the concentration

of the attention makes us passive to surrounding objects, and the nervous fluid accumulates in the brain and produces sleep, or some other nervous result. On the subject returning to the positive state, the nervous fluid or electricity supplied through the lungs and stomach is again expended in mental and bodily movements.

I have dwelt at some length on Dods theory and practice, because he is the only author of whom I know who gives a full and rational account of the ideas and practices of the Electro-biologists who overran America and England during more than twenty years; for Electro-biology is the same as Dods's Electrical Psychology, but those who practised it were entertainers rather than instructors of the public, as Dr. Dods endeavoured, at least, to be. Another reason why I consider that his ideas and the methods he employed are worthy of much more attention than is generally accorded to them is that they underlie the theory and practice of modern Hypnotism. Dr. Dods was a great deal more than a mere dreamer; but he undoubtedly "rushed in" where doctors and superior persons "feared to tread"; for his imagination was not of the scientific order, which Huxley told us "always restrains itself within the limits of probability," and makes "known laws" the limit of Nature's possibilities. Be that as it may, Dr. Dods not only forestalled the great discovery of experimental psychology, the involuntary (or, as we say, "sub-conscious") powers of the mind, and applied that idea far more widely than our experimental psychologists as yet dare to do, but, moreover, he founded his whole system upon

what seems to be much the same conception of electricity as our men of science are now laboriously and scientifically imagining—imagining after the facts have been ascertained—and which is making us familiar with a new conception of the Universe, with “electrons,” or disembodied charges of electricity, for the basis of matter; and “ions,” or electrically charged atoms, for the basis of physical life.

Electro-biology brought to an end the Second Act of the Hypnotic Drama; and when the curtain rises for the Third Act we find ourselves in presence of Modern Hypnotism, with Charcot and Liébeault upon the stage.

THE END.

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